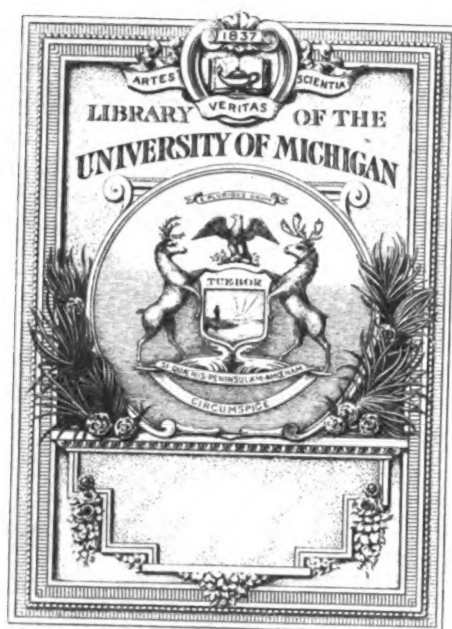


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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

FOUNDED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
PROFESSOR HENRY ALFRED TODD

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH IN THE ROMANCE
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by
JOHN L. GERIG



Volume XVI

PUBLISHED BY
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

1925

LANCASTER PRESS, INC.
LANCASTER, PA.

11

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HENRY ALFRED TODD
1854-1925

The death of Professor Henry Alfred Todd on January 3, 1925, was an irreparable loss to the *Romanic Review*. Associated with the *Review* from its foundation in 1910, Professor Todd had given it enthusiastic and painstaking attention for more than fifteen years, contributing annually also to its financial support. A few months before his death, having with greatest regret accepted the resignation of Professor Raymond Weeks as co-editor, he finally assumed the burden of sole editorship of the *Review*, and superintended the composition of one issue, that of July-December 1924. An account of his varied and scholarly activities will appear in an early number.

On Professor Todd's death, the management of the *Review* was entrusted by the Columbia University Press to an editorial committee consisting of Federico de Onís, Henri F. Muller, John L. Gerig, Dino Bigongiari, and Arthur Livingston. At a meeting held on March 3, 1925, this committee designated John L. Gerig, as responsible editor of the *Review*, to which Mrs. Henry Alfred Todd has generously offered financial support in memory of her husband.

The policy of the *Review* will in general remain unchanged, the editorial board still regarding it as a vehicle through which American scholars may present their historical and philological researches in the broad field of Romance languages and literatures to their colleagues at home and abroad. The Board hopes, however, that the *Romanic Review* may eventually be made a more valuable instrument of study and expression for American teachers, students and critics in their own work by the inclusion of the contemporary fields in its purview.

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. XVI. — JANUARY-MARCH, 1925 — No. 1

THE CRUX OF DANTE'S *COMEDY*

"Go on, my friend, and fear nothing: you carry Caesar
and his fortunes in your boat."

—*Plutarch.*

MANY of the differences between interpreters of Dante's *Comedy* repeat in principle the fabled quarrel over the shield that was silver on one side and gold on the other. They have too commonly seemed to forget Dante's own insistence that his allegory is multiple.

The planes of his multiple allegory are not, however, of equal dramatic prominence. The frontal plane, so to speak,—that which makes the *Comedy* a right "comedy,"—presents him as the hero of a *primarily* political drama.

The following synopsis of this drama is obviously of the roughest and most fragmentary. Not only want of space—the usual excuse!—but my own inadequacy makes it so.

I

The crux of Dante's *Comedy* is the "hard riddle"¹ in which Beatrice announces to Dante a Deliverer. By this instrument of providence, as I conceive, also Dante himself will be vindicated and brought back to felicity in a happier Florence. His life-story will be so a double comedy, of fortunate outcome here on earth as well as hereafter in heaven. As "rhetoric" prescribed, *his* title implies the crucial issue,—*Comedy of Dante Alighieri, Florentine by nation not by character.*² That moral breach, if naught else, must bar him from his native place.³

¹ Pg. xxxiii, 34 ff.

² *Epist.* x, 188-190.

³ *Inf.* xv, 55-78.

The Florentines, not he, must change. He has changed already—from likeness to them back to that one time self in which every right disposition gave of itself proof marvelous.⁴ "*Eadem mutata resurgo*," he might say.⁵ His spiritual crisis is safely past. His *soul* looks to felicity.

Far different is his human plight. Who might work the miracle of changing the Florentine heart? Not he in his present helplessness. "Wolves" are not moved by fair words; nor would he stoop to move them so. Nay, the Florentines were worse than wolves. Satan himself had entered into that "ingrate folk malignant," and made their city his stronghold.⁶ To reduce it, to humble them, called for one stronger than Satan. "Master" Horace had warned that no "god," no *deus ex machina*, should enter into a comedy unless the knot were worthy of the deliverer.⁷ Assuredly, Dante's "knot" was such.

Darkly Beatrice promised the divine intervention. But "facts," she had also said, would solve her hard riddle. And the "facts" were showing a mighty champion of justice at work in Italy. The young Lord of Verona, Can Grande della Scala, had already brought the Roman peace of justice to town after town of Lombardy. Vicar Imperial of the late Henry VII, Christ's Vicar Imperial, Beatrice might truly call him "sent by God." Who then might cancel his warrant? "Another Moses,"⁸ Henry had been cut off in sight of the promised land; but he had committed his sacred mission to one younger and more favored of fortune. Italy, "garden of the Empire," had shown herself indisposed to welcome her rightful lord, Henry.⁹ So be it: Henry's Vicar and Captain, the lord Can, should force her as Joshua had forced Canaan. Especially, he should humble arrogant Florence, sower of the seed of disaffection,¹⁰ as Joshua had humbled Jericho.

Although in a right comedy the distressed hero need a

⁴ Pg. xxx, 109-117.

⁵ Par. xiv, 125; xv, 28-30.

⁶ Par. ix, 124 ff.

⁷ "Nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus Inciderit."

⁸ Epist. v, 19.

⁹ Par. xxx, 137-138.

¹⁰ Par. ix, 127-132.

god's intervention, yet the hero too must do his part. Dante's part in the exorcising of the devil-possessed city will be as theirs who compassed Jericho, blowing upon their trumpets of rams' horns¹¹ so that its wall fell down flat.¹² His poem his trumpet, the savior-poet will be welcomed by the loyal few—those of the house of Rahab—who shall be spared.¹³ He and they will be acceptable, each to the other,—one in nation and in character. Safe with that "fairest daughter of noble Rome," he—redeemed son of Adam in Eden regained—may prepare for his call to his true mother-city, the celestial Rome of Beatrice.¹⁴

II

So Dante's title unfolds into a comedy. Its end, he said, is "to remove those living *in this life* from a state of misery, and to bring them into a state of felicity."¹⁵ But this end, he also said, is "multiple, near and remote." The near end, he explains,¹⁶ is peace on earth for men of good will. To that earthly paradise the Emperor by justice should lead them. The remote end is peace in heaven for them that love God. To this heavenly paradise the Pope by charity should lead them. No thanks indeed to present recreant Pope, Dante's feet have been set in the right way to the remote end, the heavenly paradise. Almost miraculously his handmaid of Mary, Lady Beatrice, "meridian torch of Charity," has given guidance.¹⁷ Of eternal felicity his hope is sure,¹⁸—and in despite of evil men. But while these still prevail, neither for him nor for any other is there peace on earth. His good is with the common good bound in. To establish that common good—a commonwealth of justice—calls not for crook but sword. Assurance that Christ's avenging sword is even now in the hand of a proved champion is the inspiring motive of Dante's *Comedy*, is what makes it *his* comedy.

¹¹ Cf. *Par.* xxv, 7.

¹² *Josh.* vi, 20.

¹³ *Par.* xxv, 1-12; *Josh.* vi, 17.

¹⁴ *Pg.* xxxii, 100-102.

¹⁵ *Epist.* x, par. 15.

¹⁶ *Mon.* III, xvi.

¹⁷ *Par.* xxxiii, 10-11.

¹⁸ *Par.* xxv, 52-54.

Current interpretations of the *Comedy*, while naturally not ignoring, yet treat these temporal interests of Dante as incidental and secondary. The primary motive of the poem is said to be religious—with an amatory coloring. Thus the most judicious among present-day critics of Dante sums up his judgment: "In substance it is a spiritual autobiography, a record of the soul's awakening and successful quest of God, like the *Confessions* of St. Augustine. In purpose it is a monument to the idealized Beatrice, fulfilling the author's early promise to say of her what never had been said of woman."¹⁹ I recognize the partial and concurrent truth—and the poetry—of this verdict. Beatrice indeed is the saving "power behind the throne" of God; but the *throne* her influence enlists for Dante's immediate need is that of Caesar. In many things the *Comedy* is like the *Confessions*; but Dante's shifting of the dramatically crucial issue from the next world to this, from the religious to the political plane, makes a radical difference. Augustine wrote as a converted sinner to convert sinners. Like all zealous evangelists, he stresses—morbidity at times—his past wickedness. If one as wicked as he could be saved, none need despair. Through two thirds of his book he pictures himself for thirty years still "sticking in the same mire, greedy of enjoying things present, which passed away and wasted my soul."²⁰ If briefly Dante confesses the same sin,²¹ he so humbles himself before God—or God's messenger Beatrice,—only to exalt himself before men. Sages and saints of the past, demons of hell and angels of heaven attest his singular grace and preëminence. He speaks not as a sinner to sinners, offering meek example, but as one having authority, not to be imitated but obeyed.

Augustine's story is altogether a spiritual comedy. Beginning in the misery of sin, by intervention of a "god"—very God—he is ending in the felicity of grace. God's agent, *his* Beatrice, is his mother Monica. By God's grace won by her prayers, his spiritual "knot" was cut at that moment when he saw himself for what he had become. "Thou, O Lord, didst turn me round towards myself, taking me from behind my back,

¹⁹ C. H. Grandgent, *Dante*, Boston, 1916, p. 351.

²⁰ VI, xviii (Pusey's transl.).

²¹ P. xxxi, 34-35.

where I had placed me, unwilling to observe myself; and setting me before my face, that I might see how foul I was, how crooked and defiled, bespotted and ulcerous. And I beheld and stood aghast; and whither to flee from myself I found not. . . . Thou didst set me over against myself, and thrustest me before mine eyes, that I might find out mine iniquity, and hate it." ²² So finding out himself, he *refound* himself,—the true self he had so nearly lost.

Midway in life Dante also found out himself, and stood aghast, and knew not whither to flee from the beastlike vices that compassed him about. But with this experience his *Comedy begins*. It is the beginning of the happy ending of Augustine's. Conviction of sin is bitter but salutary. "I was healthfully distracted," writes Augustine, "and dying, to live; knowing what evil thing I was, and not knowing what good thing I was shortly to become." ²³ Dante too, finding out himself, *refound* himself. "Mi ritrovai," he says.²⁴

But by definition a right comedy cannot so *begin* prosperously.²⁵ There is no "knot" to cut. A "god" may be needed to sustain and to strengthen Dante, but his spiritual peril is already past.

Again, the precedent of Augustine's *Confessions* is cited by Dante not alone or first, but after Boethius's *Consolations*.²⁶ The order is not casual. Boethius sought vindication from men's injustice; Augustine mitigation of God's justice. Boethius serenely asserted his merit; Augustine miserably confessed his guilt. Boethius demanded justice; Augustine craved mercy. Dante has done both. As he begins his *Comedy*, he has already won divine mercy, but not yet human justice. Against the outrageous wrong men have done—and do—him he will, like Boethius, protest his right. Modesty must give way. Then

²² VIII, xvi.

²³ VIII, xix.

²⁴ *Inf.* i, 2. Cf. Bonaventure, *Expos. in Psalt.* 31: 1 (IX: 196): "Tria sunt vitia in homine, et ad haec removenda tria sunt antidota: primo homo ignorat se peccare: secundo dedignatur confiteri; tertio bonum, si quod habet, sibi attribuit. Primo ergo, *ignorantia*: secundo, *dedignatio*: tertio, *arrogantia*. Contra primum est *sui cognitio*; contra secundum est pia confessio; contra tertium est pia attributio, ut Deo attribuiamus bona nostra." The italics are mine.

²⁵ *Epist.* x, par. 10.

²⁶ *Conv.* I, ii.

too, to exact justice from one's fellowmen is for their own good also; since to render justice they must themselves be made just!

Dante's hope, however, differs from Boethius's no less than from Augustine's. At best, Boethius might look for only posthumous vindication, rehabilitation by posterity. To his death, I think, Dante confidently expected vindication and rehabilitation in this life. Demonstrably, I believe, to proclaim, justify and expedite this earthly triumph of his right is the central point and pith of his dramatic allegory.

III

It was in April, 1300, that Dante, dreaming, came to himself in the dark jungle, and found escape cut off by three wild beasts. His first need was to get away from that perilous place. And the spirit of Virgil got him away.

This is literal fact, not allegorical fiction. Through his writings Virgil called to Dante across the ages, and saved him from the false position in which he stood. In his fourth *Eclogue*, as was believed, Virgil unwittingly prophesied the Messiah; in his *Aeneid*, the imperial destiny of Rome. He converted Christian Dante to Roman imperialism as he had converted Roman but pagan Statius to Christianity.²⁷ And a Roman imperialist could not remain where Dante was—in rebel Florence.

Virgil's message had weight with Dante for the same reason that it had with Statius. Virgil's predictions came true. Statius recognized the Child of the *Eclogue* in the Babe of Bethlehem; Dante recognized the Empire of the *Aeneid* in the authority to which Christ submitted himself.

Fear of the pagans about him, however, kept Statius long a "secret Christian." And for the lukewarmness he paid penance in Purgatory through over 400 years of aimless unrest.²⁸ Then, to expiate a sin of prodigality, through over 500 more he had lain face downward in the dust.²⁹ He wins freedom to rise only now, at the moment when Dante passes, following Virgil.

Statius's careful figures challenge attention. Whatever the scale in Purgatory, 1000 years, or nearly, seem a stiff sentence

²⁷ Pg. xxii, 64 ff.

²⁸ Ib. 88-93; xviii, 88 ff.

²⁹ Pg. xxi, 67-69.

for the sins imputed—apparently on Dante's sole authority—to the Roman poet. Early Christians had to choose between dissimulation and martyrdom,—and if martyrdom were not recognized as extraordinary heroism above and beyond the call of duty, it would not have been rewarded by a special "crown"; and unthrift is not a heinous vice. Again, the nearly 1000 years still leave over 200 unaccounted for, since Statius died before 100 A.D. Such things are not accidental with Dante. The punishment, excessive for the real Statius, may not be so for the symbolic Statius of the allegory. If the almost 1000 years do not count back to Statius's death, they do to a date of capital importance in human history. Early in the fourth century, according to the legend, the Roman Emperor Constantine, like Statius miraculously converted, yet proved himself also unfaithful and prodigal. Ceding to Pope Sylvester his dominions in the West, he gave away what was not his to give, nor the spiritual Father's right to receive. The sin was expiated by world-ruin.³⁰ For "over 400 years"—until Charlemagne restored Rome's dominion—Christians strayed leaderless in *aimless unrest*. 500 years more they have been left face downward in the dust of "present things" by the Church, herself fallen in the mire under her double load.³¹ Her one "sun" has eclipsed the other.³² She is left in darkness, a blind leader of the blind,—and the wildest part (*parte piu selvaggia*) of the wildwood (*selva selvaggia*) Christendom has become. Statius, then, is *primarily* representative and type of the Christian so misguided, and suffering for the sins of his "fathers" temporal and spiritual.³³ He says he was morally converted by right understanding of Virgil's maxim of the "sacra fame dell'oro."³⁴ Doubtless, he understood it morally to mean moderation, the "golden mean," but the later Voice from the Tree intimates another and deeper significance,—that of the "holy hunger" of the Age of Gold, the time of primitive simplicity, of innocence, which Virgil's Caesar will restore.³⁵ And this is realized in the Earthly Para-

³⁰ *Par.* xx, 60; *Inf.* xix, 115-117; *et al.*

³¹ *Pg.* xvi, 127-130.

³² *Ib.* 106-114.

³³ *Ib.* 103-105.

³⁴ *Pg.* xxii, 40-41.

³⁵ *Pg.* xxii, 71, 141-154.

dise, that nearer goal to which man must be led by imperial Justice,³⁶ and which presently Statius and Dante enter together with Virgil, their common master.³⁷ Dante's *earthly* paradise regained will be Florence, when she shall have been given back her first golden simplicity of Cacciaguida's days.³⁸ For that "gold" is Dante's "sacra fame": to gain it is the nearer end of his "poema sacro."

For long he had been another Statius, *weak of faith* towards the spiritual blessedness of Beatrice and the temporal blessedness of Virgil alike.³⁹ He had been prodigal of his own gifts from nature and from God.⁴⁰ The garden of virtue he might have grown had become a tangled jungle, truly a *selva selvaggia*.⁴¹ He had known a "ten years thirst" of blessedness.⁴² And the penance was proportionable to Statius's, if the latter be taken as symbol of mankind's punishment for Constantine's fault, ultimate cause of Dante's. Ten years are a seventh of a man's allotted 70; 1000 a seventh of mankind's allotted 7000.⁴³ An extra "day" of grace,—or 1000 years,—was supposed to be granted mankind through Christ, so fulfilling in the New Dispensation Joshua's miracle of repeating a day in the Old.^{43a} The second Saturday gained by Dante represents this "day" gained.⁴⁴

But now Dante has repented, and refound his first and better self. His Lady of Blessedness, handmaid of the all-merciful Mother of God, stands ready to forgive, and to receive him in heaven. But he has a prior duty to fulfil in the active life before he can return to the felicity of the contemplative, the boon she is competent to confer to him on earth. And for

³⁶ *Mon.* III, xvi.

³⁷ Cf. *Pg.* xxviii, 136-148.

³⁸ Cf. *Par.* xv, 97 ff.

³⁹ His "first friend" had been the Guido who "scorned" Virgil. *Inf.* x, 63.

⁴⁰ *Pg.* xxx, 109-120.

⁴¹ *Pg.* xxx, 109-120.

⁴² *Pg.* xxxii, 2.

⁴³ Cf. St. Isidore, *De fide Cathol.* II, xv, 6 (Migne, *Patrol.* LXXXIII, 523): "In opere enim sex dierum sex millium annorum opera demonstratur. Mille enim apud Deum uni diei comparantur (*Ps.* lxxxix, 4)."

^{43a} Cf., e.g., Rabanus Maurus, *Comment. in lib. Jos.* II, iii (Migne, CVIII, 1045); St. Augustine, *De mirabilibus sacr. Script.* II, iv (Migne, XXXV, 2175-2176).

⁴⁴ *Inf.* xxxiv, 104-105.

guidance and support in that active life, first in the hell of Florence, and then in the purgatory of *temporary* exile,⁴⁶ Virgil is providentially sent. Like Statius, Dante is converted by the light that Virgil casts behind him, the teaching of his Messianic *Eclogue* and of his imperialist *Aeneid*. But unlike the timid Statius, Dante must at the fitting time declare his faith even in the face of "martyrdom." He must openly acknowledge and defend the Holy Roman Empire with the same faith and fortitude as he acknowledges and defends the Holy Roman Church. For the Emperor is Christ's Vicar as well as the Pope, each in his separate field. The acknowledgment is made in his *De Monarchia*: the active defence will come in his support of the Emperor's Vicar, Can Grande.

And his work of charity will rightly begin at home. His countrymen hold Virgil, prophet of the imperial right, "in scorn," or at most intrigue with the false Imperialists, the Ghibellines.⁴⁶ Dante they heed not.⁴⁷ Into their city, which is a dark jungle, a "wildwood" (*selva selvaggia*),⁴⁸ no light can penetrate. In it, *parted* against itself, a "citta partita,"⁴⁹ darkest and wildest *part* is that *backwoods party*, *parte selvaggia*,⁵⁰ in which Dante finds himself, and which shall presently dominate. "Within three suns," however, he with it shall be cast out,⁵¹ and by the contrivance of the Impostor of Rome, Boniface VIII.⁵² Against Dante the false Pope's grudge was special and personal. Boniface had forced "Mother" Rome to play "stepmother" to Caesar.⁵³ Dante had publicly protested. In

* Virgil himself implies this difference between Statius and himself, that whereas his own exile is eternal, Statius will one day reach his home, his *patria*. *Pg.* xxi, 16-18.

* Cf. *Inf.* x, 63, where Guido is, I think, representative of the Florentine Guelphs. In *Inf.* viii, 86-90,—connected, by the way, with *Inf.* x, 63, by the identical rhyme-word, *disdegno*,—the "demons" of the accursed City would admit Virgil without Dante. I take the reference to be to the Florentine Ghibellines, who, according to Villani (*Cronica*, lib. I, cap. xxxviii), had considerable weight in 1300. For Dante's own view of their loyalty, see *Par.* vi, 31-33, 97-111. Their Virgil was not his; his Virgil would not enter their city without him.

⁴⁷ *Inf.* vi, 73.

⁴⁸ *Inf.* i, 5.

⁴⁹ *Inf.* vi, 61.

* Cf. Villani, *Cronica*, lib. I, cap. xxxviii.

⁵¹ *Inf.* vi, 64 ff.

⁵² Cf. *Par.* xvii, 49-51.

⁵³ *Par.* xvi, 58-60.

hatred and fear, therefore, Boniface forced Florence to play "stepmother" to her loyal son.⁵⁴ Then, unlike Statius, Dante made public his Christian political faith. Choosing so not dissimulation but martyrdom, he was now meriting his "crown"⁵⁵—like Boethius who dared denounce this world's ill governance,⁵⁶ like the forbear who followed his Caesar "against the iniquity of that Law whose folk usurp, by fault of the Shepherd, justice."⁵⁷

The experience of the two years of his dominance in Florence—*after he had refound himself*—is the allegory of the *Hell*, first act of his *Comedy*. "Within three suns"—of Friday and the double Saturday⁵⁸—he shall have gained needful "experience" of the city of Satan's "planting."⁵⁹

This experience is needful in two ways. It will enable Dante to show up Florence as a veritable City of Dis on earth, typical consequence of rebellion against Imperial Authority, and capital illustration of the moral havoc wrought by Constantine when he made the "first rich father." For present Florence is a "giant" ally of the "harlot" Pope. The baleful "flower" she has, Circe-like, fed to the "shepherds" has changed them to "wolves."⁶⁰ And she has fed herself upon it. Once "fairest daughter of the Sun" of Rome,—Sun temporal as well as spiritual,⁶¹—she is now "black" as night,⁶² truly worse than her degraded mother, Rome, herself,—"*Matre prava filia pravior*."

In the second place, his inside knowledge will be valuable to the coming avenger and liberator, *Veltro* and *Dux*, who shall drive out the Wolf, and by establishing justice shall so make a place of charity. Him Dante can serve as Rahab served Joshua besieging Jericho.⁶³ And then, when Florence shall be salutarily "humbled," Dante, acquainted with "justice and sanity,"⁶⁴

⁵⁴ *Par.* xvii, 46-48. Note the identical rhyme clue. Cf. Ruth Phelps in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, March, 1921.

⁵⁵ *Par.* xxv, 8-10.

⁵⁶ *Par.* x, 124-129.

⁵⁷ *Par.* xv, 139-148.

⁵⁸ *Inf.* xxxiv, 104-105.

⁵⁹ *Par.* ix, 127 ff.; *Inf.* xxviii, 46-50.

⁶⁰ *Par.* ix, 127 ff.

⁶¹ Cf. *Pg.* xvi, 106 ff.

⁶² Cf. *Par.* xxvii, 136-138.

⁶³ *Par.* ix, 115 ff. Cf. *Inf.* i, 107-109.

⁶⁴ *Par.* xxxi, 37-39.

can, as a dutiful and intimate son, guide his motherland back to her original health.

Now for this high and unselfish end, he was justified in employing the arts of dissimulation for which Statius, because his ends were selfish and cowardly, had to pay so dearly. While Dante held power those two years in the *parte selvaggia*, he might with a clear conscience apply the maxim:

"In church

With the saints, with the gluttons in tavern."⁶⁵

He can meritoriously placate Cerberus, greedy watchdog of the stinking bog, by feeding it the mire it craves.⁶⁶ To keep them quiet while he needfully remains among them, Dante as Prior is justified in bribing the greedy Florentine "dogs," the rabble. Again, his Virgil, spur to the high imperialist mission, induces him without shame to keep his face hidden from the dread Gorgon, the malignant power of his partisan enemies. Else he must prematurely have been held *in stone*, imprisoned, and so kept back from his mission itself.⁶⁷ So by shrewd evasion he foils the Minotaur's fury, partisan violence. So casting off the girdle of simplicity and candor,⁶⁸ he summons and is carried by the spirit of Deceit down to the very depths of the City of Fraud. So riding the "Evil-tail,"—"la fiera con la coda aguzza,"⁶⁹—he is accepted as one of theirs by the chief "devil"

⁶⁵ *Inf.* xxii, 14-15. Whether by intention or not, the maxim appears in the canto of the *Inferno* corresponding in number with that of the *Purgatory* in which Statius tells of his dissembling through fear—*Pg.* xxii, 90 ff.

⁶⁶ *Inf.* vi, 25-33. The "terra" made putrid by the foul rain of cupidity (cf. *Par.* xxvii, 121-123) represents both the city itself, the *terra* (*Inf.* viii, 77), and the mortal—and therefore easily corruptible—(cf. *Par.* v, 99) *clay* of its citizens.

⁶⁷ *Inf.* ix, 55-60.

⁶⁸ *Inf.* xvi, 105 ff. St. Bonaventure explains the Franciscan "cord" as symbolizing a simplicity and truth that should shame the greed and simony rampant in the Church: "Credo autem S. Franciscum istud cingulum elegisse, quia legitur in Matthæo (xxvii, 2): *Vinctum duxerunt a eum, et tradiderunt eum Pontio Pilato*. Vel certe ad litteram, ut cinguli vilitas concordet habitus vilitati, ut hoc cinctorio armati, et veritatis linea multis aspera, ab Ecclesia videantur disturbare simoniacos, et alios scelerosos. Facto enim flagello de funiculis, Dominus vendentes et ementes de templi sui finibus noscitur eiecisse." (*Expositio in regulam Fratrum Minorum*, cap. ii—*Opera*, ed. Peltier, XIV, p. 566.) Further correspondences suggest themselves in this passage. Dante was betrayed by and to the simoniacal Boniface VIII, the "new Pilate,"—*Pg.* xx, 91,—"*là dove Cristo tutto di si merca*"—*Par.* xvii, 51. And Dante scourges him for his betrayal.

⁶⁹ *Inf.* xvii, 1.

of the City, himself an "Evil-tail," a Malacoda.⁷⁰ And so, one after another, Dante dupes his enemies who are also God's. A true Christian need not be true to such, but may even meritoriously break his plighted word to them.⁷¹

But a Malacoda cannot be trusted. The "evil-tail" will exude its poison. Under the show of helpfulness, Malacoda tries by a lie to block Dante and Virgil.⁷² But God can turn the wiles of Satan against him, and bend them to the furtherance of good. The "ruin" declared by Malacoda impassable proves to be for Dante the one way out.⁷³ Thanks to it, he can realize by experience the lower depths of the city of iniquity down to the brink of the bottommost pit. From there he is brought down lower still, down apparently into the clutches of the arch-fiend himself. Yet Lucifer cannot harm him. The dread "arms," against which "giants" count as little as Dante against "giants,"⁷⁴ are impotent, locked fast in the ice made by the wind of his own bat-wings. On the contrary, his "hairy ribs" form the very "ladder" on which Virgil may climb with Dante out of the accursed place. There is no need to plumb further into its evil; Dante has "experienced" its worst.

Thus providentially, by the powers of evil whose interest was to thwart it, Dante's mission is furthered. Only one of them, however, is caught in the specifically malevolent act. This is Malacoda, whose lying counsel to avoid the "ruin" as impassable would, if followed, have kept Dante for good and all in hell. Now if the allegory is of Dante's career in Florence, we can, I think, recognize the meaning of the "ruin," and the identity of the "black devil."⁷⁵

In the summer of 1300, Dante had voted with the other Priors for the exile of the heads of the two contentious parties, Blacks and Whites. The motive was the peace of the city. But the perfidiously ambitious Corso Donati, chief among the Blacks, induced Boniface VIII to send Charles of Valois as an arbiter to Florence. Actually, however, Charles's deputed

⁷⁰ *Inf.* xxi, 79 ff.

⁷¹ As Dante does in the case of Fra Alberigo—*Inf.* xxxiii, 109 ff., 148-50.

⁷² *Inf.* xxi, 106-117.

⁷³ *Inf.* xxiii, 133-144.

⁷⁴ *Inf.* xxxiv, 30-31.

⁷⁵ *Inf.* xxi, 29.

authority made it possible for Corso with his band of exiled Blacks to seize and sack the city, and later to exile Dante on a trumped-up charge of graft.

Corso's perfidy thus brought to *ruin* both Florence and Dante.⁷⁶ But Malacoda's assertion that the "ruin"—in either sense—can bar Dante's way, temporarily or spiritually, is proved a lie. If Dante had been guilty of the sin of which Corso accused him, it would have been different. Malacoda was in rightful charge of grafters; by no artfulness might one escape for long his boiling pitch. But Dante was innocent; the "ruin" to which the lying accusation brought him, his exile, will prove the "ladder" by which he climbs—back indeed into Florence itself, when that moral *ruin* the city now is by Corso's fault shall itself be *ruined* by the avenging *Dux*, so that out of the ruins, phoenix-like, the ancient 'Roman' Florence may rearise. In effecting this salutary ruin, the Avenger, "sent by God,"⁷⁷ completes the analogy. Emissary of Christ, he does for Florence what Christ's Passion did for hell.⁷⁸

The fate of Corso Donati, arch-devil of the Blacks, as prophesied by his brother Forese, Dante's loyal friend,⁷⁹ further associates him with the "black devil" Malacoda, the "Evil-tail." Dante is careful "to make the punishment fit the crime." And what more fitting than that an "Evil-tail" should be dragged "at the tail of a beast into the vale where never is exculpation"? Again, it is fitting that an agent or tool should follow into punishment his principal and instigator in crime. Corso's principal was the false Pope Boniface, who, greedy for "the accursed flower," the florin, of Florence,⁸⁰ really plotted the betrayal.⁸¹ It was at the "tail" of this "beast," this "shepherd" turned "wolf,"⁸² that Corso was dragged to his damnation.

Malacoda, Corso's symbolic representative, has his place in the Malebolge, "the Evil-pouches." Warden of that district

⁷⁶ Cf. *Pg.* xxiv, 79-82.

⁷⁷ *Pg.* xxxiii, 44.

⁷⁸ *Inf.* xii, 37-45.

⁷⁹ *Pg.* xxiv, 82-90.

⁸⁰ *Par.* ix, 127-142.

⁸¹ Cf. *Par.* xvii, 49-51.

⁸² *Par.* ix, 132.

of the fraudulent is the ambiguous Geryon, half man, half scorpion. Also, as Charon ferries the damned over Acheron, Geryon must bear—as he did Dante—his special victims down into his “pouches,” ‘*pocket*’ them.⁸⁵ In respect to Dante’s personal allegory, then, Geryon is Boniface, supreme embodiment of Fraud on earth, truly of whom Virgil might say:

“Behold the wild beast with the pointed tail,
That passeth mountains, breaketh walls and arms;
Behold her that to all men bringeth bale.”⁸⁴

Geryon is one phase of the root-evil, Cupidity,—the deceitful cunning of the She-Wolf. How guilty Boniface was in the use of any base deceit to gain his own ends is abundantly shown in his tricking of Guido da Montefeltro.⁸⁵ Also Boniface otherwise abused his power of the Keys, by interdicts and excommunications that reached beyond mountains, and broke through walls and arms.⁸⁶ Geryon’s whole body is covered with “rings and knots.”⁸⁷ As the Angel of Purgatory-gate explains the two Keys of Peter,⁸⁸ one must be turned aright “per la toppa,” “in the keyhole”; the other “is that which unties the knot” (*il nodo*). Boniface carries the scarring memories of innumerable excommunications and pardons,—round “keyholes” in which he has seemingly turned the one Key, “knots” which he has seemingly untied with the other. But his has not been the “ashen vestment” of the Angel of the Gate; rather, like Geryon again,⁸⁹ he has clothed himself in many infidel colors—of “Tartar and Turk,” and of a spider’s craft. To him are applicable the words which God through Ezekiel spake unto fallen Jerusalem, —to him the evil genius of fallen Rome: “. . . perfecta eras in decore meo, quem posueram super te, dicit Dominus Deus. Et habens fiduciam in pulchritudine tua fornicata es in nomine tuo: et exposuisti fornicationem tuam omni transeunti ut ejus fieres . . . Et sumpsisti vestimenta tua multicoloria, et operuisti illas,”

⁸⁴ Cf. *Inf.* xix, 72.

⁸⁵ *Inf.* xvii, 1-3.

⁸⁶ *Inf.* xxvii, 67-129.

⁸⁷ Cf. *Par.* xviii, 124-129.

⁸⁸ *Inf.* xvii, 14-15.

⁸⁹ *Pg.* ix, 115-128.

⁹⁰ *Inf.* xvii, 16-18.

etc.⁹⁰ We see here the She-wolf that mates with all-comers,⁹¹ the Harlot upon her monstrous beast.⁹² No doubt in the new heathenized Jerusalem Dante figured in his larger historical allegory depraved Rome, seat of the materialized Papacy. Geryon signifies in the more inclusive aspect that. But as touching Dante in the present connection, Rome, the Papacy is narrowed to Boniface.

Another along with Corso Donati was dragged at the tail of this "foul image of fraud,"⁹³ Charles of Anjou. Armed indeed only with the sting of that tail, a very "lance of Judas," he it was that therewith "pierced the paunch of Florence till it burst"; but gained thereby "not land, but sin and shame."⁹⁴ But he did succeed, comments grimly the "root" of his stock, Hugh Capet, in "making better known himself and his."^{94a} And this was especially a revelation of profit—ultimately—to Dante. For Charles was a type—less complete than his royal brother, Philip le Bel, but more personally significant for Dante—of the "Giant,"⁹⁵ rebel against high Jove in his temporal Vicar, the Emperor, and "delinquent" with the papal "Thief" of Caesar's inheritance.⁹⁶ It was Charles's treachery that gave Dante to know not only "him and his," but the still lower depths of malignity in his principal, Boniface.

Now it is the "giant" Antaeus that hands Dante down to bottommost hell, which "devours Lucifer with Judas." Virgil announces:

"Thou shalt behold Antaeus
Here close at hand, who talks, and is unleashed
That to all evil's bottom he may see us."⁹⁷

By thus simply giving to "disciolto" a purposeful coloring, which certainly is permissible,⁹⁸ I have made Virgil's account

⁹⁰ *Ezek.* xvi, 14-15, 18. The whole chapter is pertinent.

⁹¹ *Inf.* i, 100.

⁹² *Pg.* xxxii, 148 ff.

⁹³ *Inf.* xvii, 7.

⁹⁴ *Pg.* xx, 70-78.

^{94a} *Ib.* 72.

⁹⁵ *Pg.* xxxii, 151 ff.

⁹⁶ *Pg.* xxxiii, 44-45.

⁹⁷ *Inf.* xxxi, 100-102.

⁹⁸ *Cf. Pg.* xxxii, 158.

of Antaeus exactly fit the mission of Charles of Valois. The latter was "close at hand," in Florence, where he "*talked*,"—ostensibly parleyed to pacify the city,—but was actually "unleashed" by Boniface to drag down from power Dante, the uncompromising adherent of Virgil, Imperial Right. Or, since almost invariably Dante packs several meanings into significant passages, if "*disciolto*" be taken as simply "unbound," in contrast to Nimrod,⁹⁹ the reference would be, I think, to the fact that Charles was still alive, still "*talking*,"—that is, still using his treacherous tongue, "the lance with which Judas jousted,"—so that he may continue to drag down into the power of the Lucifer-like Pope the right, and the defenders of the right, of Caesar.

Although Dante is assured that Charles's treachery will prove for Dante himself a blessing in disguise, naturally prospect of the martyrdom it immediately entails is humanly uninviting. The way of exile was thorny. Therefore of Antaeus's service he says:

". . . there was a moment
When I had fain have taken another way."¹⁰⁰

Indeed, proscribed, penniless, cut off even from the support of his fellow-exiles,¹⁰¹ Corso's trick and Charles's treachery would seem to have delivered Dante into the hands of his deadliest enemy, Pope Boniface. And between the latter and Lucifer the points of symbolic resemblance are manifest. The fact that Boniface has already been presented allegorically in Geryon is no bar in Dante's allegorical method to his representation in the Arch-fiend, the Antichrist. Geryon, Fraud, is one type of evil abstracted from the sum of evil, which is Lucifer. And connection is established between the part and the whole when Dante says

"That it pleased my Master to reveal to me
The creature there that had the semblance fair."¹⁰²

Like master like man: in the character of Geryon, Boniface had used the *Black* devil, Corso, to destroy Dante by violence,

⁹⁹ *Ib.* 85-90.

¹⁰⁰ *Ib.* 140-141.

¹⁰¹ *Par.* xvii, 61-69.

¹⁰² *Inf.* xxxiv, 17-18.

meanwhile preserving himself the appearance of benevolent impartiality.¹⁰⁸ Such was Geryon:

"His face the face was of a person just,
Outwardly showing great benignancy;
But of a serpent all below the bust."¹⁰⁴

But Dante now sees Boniface in Lucifer all unmasked, visible source of all present evils in the world, including Dante's own persecution.¹⁰⁵ The poison that has changed Boniface to such a monster is made manifest in the vileness oozing from Lucifer's mouths, the sin of sins—betrayal of God and man alike. Boniface too "swallows" Judas and Brutus and Cassius. All three have entered into him. He has slain again Christ and Caesar. He has thought to silence their champion, Dante Alighieri. But by the irony of providence, the flapping of his six bat-wings has only locked him fast in the ice of impotence.¹⁰⁶ Six wings had been given him, as to the Seraphim,¹⁰⁷ to lift himself and men nigh unto God. He had misused them as "sails" to scour the "sea" of cupidity.¹⁰⁸

But again, by providential irony, it is by the great enemy's own "hairy ribs," *vellute coste*, that Virgil climbs with Dante out of the accursed place.¹⁰⁹ In another sense, therefore, it may be said of him, Geryon's master, that

"Tanto benigna avea di fuor la pelle."¹¹⁰

For it was "al pel del vermo reo" that Virgil took hold to rescue Dante,—¹¹¹ that "pel" of the once fair daughter of the Sun, the Circean Church,—which was now turned black.¹¹² Boniface had actually rescued Dante by sending Charles and Corso to cast him down from the *high places* of Florence wherein was no salvation.¹¹³ In Florentine idiom, *la costa* still means the

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Ciacco's statement. *Inf.* vi, 69.

¹⁰⁹ *Inf.* xvii, 10-12.

¹⁰⁶ *Inf.* xxxiv, 34-36.

¹⁰⁶ *Inf.* xxxiv, 46-54.

¹⁰⁷ *Par.* ix, 77-78.

¹⁰⁸ *Inf.* xxxiv, 48; *Par.* xxvi, 62; *Par.* xxvii, 121-3.

¹⁰⁹ *Inf.* xxxiv, 73 ff.

¹¹⁰ *Inf.* xvii, 11.

¹¹¹ *Inf.* xxxiv, 107-108.

¹¹² *Par.* xxvii, 136-138.

¹¹³ *Inf.* xv, 61-69.

"highest place in the city."¹¹⁴ So "vellute coste" may punningly signify the "wished-for high places" of Florence,—wished-for by the intriguing Pope.¹¹⁵

Now in all this providentially aided progress of Dante, the spirit of Virgil that goes before him, guiding and sustaining him, cannot represent, as is ordinarily said, mere human Reason. To begin with, Dante certainly does not present—even in the *Comedy* itself—Virgil as the supreme embodiment of Reason. Aristotle is declared "master of them that know,"¹¹⁶ To Aristotle's authority in matters accessible to human reason Dante's Virgil frankly and modestly defers.¹¹⁷ Now from this acceptance of Aristotle's authority, we may doubtless infer that Dante conceived Virgil as essentially in his rationalistic teaching an Aristotelian,—in his moral teaching, at any rate. Accordingly, it would be still possible to say that in the *moral* allegory of the *Comedy*, Virgil does vicariously stand for Reason. Only, as I have all along insisted, the moral allegory is only secondary and incidental. For the salient political allegory, and also for the religious or spiritual allegory, Virgil does not, and cannot, stand for Reason unilluminated by Grace. As a guide, he would have been the blind leading the blind. He himself eloquently shows the goal to which mere human reason, however greatly exercised, leads. It is that Limbo of frustrate hope where he shows Dante the shades of Aristotle himself, Plato, "and many others."¹¹⁸ Elsewhere, indeed,¹¹⁹ Dante declares the doctrines of Aristotle to be "virtually Catholic opinion"; but this is true only after they had been harmonized with Catholic dogma after Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas.

Human Reason alone cannot save a man, Dante or other. Salvation is through Christ alone. He is the one way to earthly and heavenly felicity. But he is two in one, human and divine, distinct but not separate—like the two-natured Griffin of the *Comedy*. The Griffin's head and body would not function cut

¹¹⁴ Petrocchi, *Nuovo Dis. d. Ling. Ital.*, s.n.

¹¹⁵ *Vellute* may be taken as a quibbling equivalent of *volute*, or as the past participle of a supposed verb from *velle*.

¹¹⁶ *Inf.* iv, 131.

¹¹⁷ *Inf.* xi, 79–80, 101–105.

¹¹⁸ *Pg.* iii, 34–44.

¹¹⁹ *Conv.* IV, vi, 150.

apart. Caesar with Peter, justice with charity, reason with revelation must work together. Reason without revelation leads to the Limbo of lost hope.¹²⁰ Revelation unless brought down to the sense-bound language of reason is meaningless for man.¹²¹

Dante, like Statius, had faith in the Virgil who in his *Eclogue* foretold the Messiah that should bring justice to earth, and in his *Aeneid* assigned to Rome administration of the Messiah's justice.¹²² Virgil's reason had so little share in this prophecy that he himself neither understood it, nor profited by it.¹²³ He was "God's mouthpiece."¹²⁴ Statius recognized that Virgil's words were "consonant" with the "new preachers";¹²⁵ Dante that they were so with Christ's own, sanctioning Rome's supremacy.¹²⁶

Dante's allegorical action carries the same argument. Courteously, Dante lays to his own unworthiness his hesitancy to follow Virgil.¹²⁷ Yet he might well have misdoubted this strange proposer of a stranger plan. To elude wild animals on earth by descending among fiends in hell seemed like jumping from frying-pan into fire! And might not this pagan be tool of the "false and lying gods" he had confessedly lived under?¹²⁸ By an equally courteous gesture, Virgil's reproves Dante's doubt—of Dante. His calmly reassuring words, however, also attest his own credentials. Not of his devising is the way of rescue. In fact, his writings are as a "lantern" carried behind him in the darkness, and so showing only to those who follow the light of justice Roman and Christian alike.¹²⁹

So Dante is convinced. Not by Reason, but by Revelation of Christ through Virgil, he is led to take up his cross of martyr-

¹²⁰ *Inf.* iv, 42; iii, 9.

¹²¹ *Par.* iv, 40-48.

¹²² *Inf.* ii, 10-27.

¹²³ *Pg.* xxii, 67-69.

¹²⁴ *Conv.* IV, iv, 115-116.

¹²⁵ *Pg.* xxii, 76-81.

¹²⁶ *Mon.* II, xii-xiii.

¹²⁷ *Inf.* ii, 31-36.

¹²⁸ *Inf.* i, 70-73.

¹²⁹ *Pg.* xxii, 67-69; i, 43-45. Rome's justice is "parcere subiectis et debellare superbos" (*Aen.* vi, 853). Cf. *James* iv, 6; also, *Ps.* xviii, 27-28—where the same justice is conceived as illumining the Psalmist's "lantern" (*lucerna*).

dom.¹²⁰ At bottom, the crux of Dante's double comedy, temporal and spiritual, is *Crux Christi*, Christ's Cross. To him, as to Constantine, the sign is given,—*Hoc signo vinces*.¹²¹

IV

The *Hell*, first act of Dante's personal comedy, ends with miraculous rescue from damning environment,—from that *wild part*, or *party*, lair of wild beasts, set over the infernal city, Florence. The just man is freed from service of sin. But he is now alone, *a party by himself*,¹²² in a better sense, therefore, still a "*parte selvaggia*," a "*sylvan*," and no *citizen* as he should be.¹²³ The second act of his comedy, the *Purgatory*, symbolizes the recovery of his citizenship.

Cast adrift even from his fellow-exiles, proscribed, poor, homeless, Dante is at the very nadir of his fortunes. Now, if ever the knot of disastrous circumstance is to be cut, the *deus ex machina* should appear. And so, having reached this crisis in his kinsman's destiny, Cacciaguida with dramatic suddenness announces the providential succor:

"For thee first refuge and first hostelry
Shall be his courtesy, the great Lombard's
Who on the ladder bears the sacred bird." ¹²⁴

The "first refuge" gives promise of the final haven. For *there* shall appear Can Grande, youth of destiny so glorious that discretion forbids full disclosure.¹²⁵ Men would not believe,—besides, we may infer, enemies would be forewarned.

Yet the veil of caution is thin.¹²⁶ The younger and truly "*great Lombard*," Can Grande, will later be for Dante securer port and refuge:

"Look thou to him and to his benefits;
By him shall be transmuted many folk,
Exchanging their conditions rich and poor." ¹²⁷

¹²⁰ Cf. *Par.* xiv, 88-108; also, *Pg.* v, 10-15.

¹²¹ Cf. *Par.* xiv, 125.

¹²² *Par.* xvii, 61-69.

¹²³ *Pg.* xxxii, 100. Cf. *Par.* viii, 115-117.

¹²⁴ *Par.* xvii, 70-72.

¹²⁵ *Ib.* 91-93.

¹²⁶ Cf. *Pg.* viii, 19-21.

¹²⁷ *Par.* xvii, 87-90.

So Rome's justice, as Anchises foretold and Dante cited,¹³⁸ shall "uplift the humble and abase the proud." Rome's courtesy was "port and refuge of kings, peoples and nations."¹³⁹ Rome's emblem, the "publico segno,"¹⁴⁰ is the Eagle. As if by preëstablished harmony, Can's escutcheon shows him, the *della Scala*, "of the Ladder," bearing the "sacred Bird." He is declared free from the greed and sloth¹⁴¹ at present disqualifying Emperor and imperialist, or Ghibelline, party.¹⁴² His deeds shall be "magnificences,"¹⁴³ gifts proportioned to the need great or small.¹⁴⁴ To only three others the poet of the *Comedy* attributes this virtue,—Christ and his Mother, and Beatrice, Dante's spiritual mother.¹⁴⁵ To man's need Christ gave himself; Mary gave her son. For Dante's need Beatrice, in imitation of Christ, left her footprints in hell.¹⁴⁶ Bidden by her to lead him from "slavery to freedom," Virgil led him to—the magnificence of Can Grande. And when Cacciaguida announces the youth as Dante's hope, the youth's years number "nine"—auspicious number so strangely "friendly" to Beatrice, and so to her "friend," Dante himself.¹⁴⁷

Can Grande was a Lombard. For reasons, Dante always looked to Lombardy for the deliverance. In his open letter of appeal for Henry VII addressed to the princes and peoples of Italy, it is the "blood of the Lombards" that he invokes as representative of whatever there is in Italy of hope. For there is in that blood still, in spite of "barbarian contamination," somewhat of the "seed of Trojan and Roman,"—even as in his own blood.¹⁴⁸ They and he were peculiarly one people.

¹³⁸ *Mon.* II, vii, 71-78.

¹³⁹ *Mon.* II, v, 60-61. *Rifugio*, Italian form of *refugium*, occurs only this once in Dante's writings.

¹⁴⁰ *Par.* vi, 100.

¹⁴¹ *Par.* xvii, 82-84.

¹⁴² *Pg.* vi, 97-105; vii, 91-96; *Par.* vi, 97-105. Note correspondence of canto and verse.

¹⁴³ *Par.* xvii, 85.

¹⁴⁴ *Conv.* IV, xvii, 41-43.

¹⁴⁵ *Par.* vii, 97-120; xxxiii, 20; xxxi, 79-90. On Beatrice's maternal character see *Pg.* xxx, 79-81; *Par.* i, 100-102; xxii, 1-6.

¹⁴⁶ *Par.* xxxi, 79-81.

¹⁴⁷ *Par.* xvii, 79-81. Cf. *Vita Nuova* i, 9-15; xxx.

¹⁴⁸ *Epist.* v, par. 4. Cf. *Inf.* xv, 73-78. Dante admits an infusion of "Scandinavian" blood in the Lombards. He may have been aware of his own Northern descent, implied in the name, Alighieri.

There was a larger historical reason for this turning of Dante to the Lombards for succor against the materialized Papacy and its secular allies, the "Thief" and the "Giant, delinquent with her." According to his reading of history, after the French hegemony of the Empire had passed away with the death of its culminating figure, Charlemagne, the Imperial authority came back to Italy, and specifically to Lombardy. "En tel maniere com je vos ai dit," wrote Brunetto Latini, the Master to whom Dante acknowledges so great obligations, "revint l'empire de Rome des Francois as Lombars."¹⁴⁹ More than this, Dante conceives this Lombard Empire to have been made the truly "*Holy Roman Empire*" when "Otto the Great," having succored the Lombard Queen Adelaide against a tyrant, later married her, and "fu courronés à roi et ampeor de Rome en l'an de grace .ix°. lv."¹⁵⁰ But almost immediately this happy concord of Empire and Church—Christ's revealed plan for man's governance—was broken in his usurping cupidity by the very Pope, John XII, who had first summoned Otto to his aid, and then crowned him Emperor. It was ironical contrast to the relations of Charlemagne and the righteous Papacy of his day, which, after he had rescued it from the "Lombard tooth," then wolfish, not only crowned him but ever after loyally coöperated with him.¹⁵¹ Pope John's disloyalty was a first assault on the integrity of the "Lombard" Empire. The assault failed, thanks to the courage of Otto in deposing the false John, as well as later the equally false Benedict.¹⁵² But when the great first Frederick was brought—literally—to his knees by the now temporally as well as spiritually all-powerful Innocent III, the Imperial authority passes from Lombardy to alien Germany.¹⁵³ And certainly Dante would have commended, and found support for his views in, the Emperor's retort to the gloating Pope. When Frederick, says

¹⁴⁹ *Li Tresors*, liv. I, part ii, cap. 91 at beginning. (Ed. P. Chabaille, Paris, 1863, p. 87.) Caps. 90–92 inclusive tell the whole story.

¹⁵⁰ *Li Tresors*, I, ii, 92—p. 88. The correct date is 962.

¹⁵¹ *Par.* vi, 94–96. Cf. *Li Tresors*, I, ii, 89.

¹⁵² Cf. *Mon.* III, xi, 16–21.

¹⁵³ *Li Tresors*, I, ii, 92. So at least Brunetto would imply, for he ends cap. 92 with the humiliation of Frederick, and writes as caption to cap. 93: "Comment li Empires revint as Alemans."

Brunetto, humbly threw himself at Innocent's feet, the Pope set his foot upon his throat saying: "Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et inculcabis leonem et draconem." And the Emperor answered: "Non tu, sed Christus." For Dante, Frederick was Christ's Vicar as plenarily in his temporal field as Innocent in his spiritual one.

Lombardy, then, where the Holy Roman Empire was founded by Otto, himself naturalized, as it were, by marrying the Lombard Queen,—this onetime imperial Lombardy was above all others especially called and justified in upholding the right of the "lofty Harry," come again, another Otto, to her succor against her oppressor, a Pope far more covetous and treacherous than Innocent, "of fouler deeds" than even Boniface, "the lawless pastor from the Westward,"¹⁶⁴ Clement V. And hence comes the peculiar fitness of the fact that those who most prominently support Dante in his vision towards rehabilitation of the temporal independence of the Empire are all Lombards. These obey the call of "blood," eager to avenge the "theft" of their inheritance.

First and foremost there is Mantuan Virgil, bard of the ancient Empire and prophet of the "Holy" Empire of Christ. Then he who calls himself also Mantuan,¹⁶⁵ the lion-like Sordello, who "haughty and disdainful" like Dante, before Dante also scourged the Princes of the earth who were disloyal to the Emperor, or negligent of loyal service,—brood of rebellious "Giants" all, and all deliberately or in effect accomplices of the thievish and debauched Papacy. And that all the blind evils of the world are the direct consequence of this unholy alliance is the lesson which the next Lombard, Marco, reads Dante.¹⁶⁶

These three, however, live for him only as example and precept. Of two others he is told by Cacciaguida,—the "great Lombard" who should give him shelter in his great need, martyr of "giant" Florence and "harlot" Rome, and be to him as a brother, jealous only in beneficent service;¹⁶⁷ and, finally,

¹⁶⁴ *Inf.* xix, 82-83.

¹⁶⁵ *Pg.* vi, 74-75. Sordello was born at Goito, a village only ten miles from Mantua.

¹⁶⁶ *Pg.* xvi.

¹⁶⁷ *Par.* xvii, 70-75.

the still greater Lombard, this one's younger brother, Can Grande, who by special right was already triumphantly re-establishing the "Lombard Empire" of great Otto. For, besides being a Lombard Prince,—how unlike those whom Sordello had condemned!—Can was clothed with vicarious imperial authority by the true Emperor, Henry VII, himself. So glorious a destiny appeared to await this greatest Lombard that Cacciaguida might well hesitate to let Dante announce it, lest incredulous men should scoff.¹⁵⁸

But Dante himself had faith. Sharp of eye through that faith, he found confirmation of it everywhere,—not least, I think, in the unwitting prophetic words of the first great Lombard, Virgil himself.

Virgil's function, I repeat, in the *personal* allegory of the *Comedy* is to lead Dante to earthly and temporal felicity, to the Earthly Paradise. Aristotle would have been the philosopher to give him direct *moral* guidance; only Christian teachers had the right and power to direct him *spiritually*. Indeed as Beatrice reminds him,¹⁵⁹ the Christian needs no other text for his guidance, moral or spiritual, but the word of God himself in holy Scripture,—though he may need the Church to expound its meaning. Virgil's word was therefore in such high matters altogether supererogatory, even had it not been paganly false. Very different, however, was Virgil's *inspired*¹⁶⁰ word of *political* truth. And in his *Aeneid* Dante might read, not only the need—and therefore right—of Roman supremacy, but also a foreshadowing of "the man and the arms" destined to meet Rome's own present need. The wonder-working Child of the fourth *Eclogue* becomes in Anchises' later prophecy young Marcellus, fosterling of Augustus. "Behold him," exclaims the seer,¹⁶¹ "glorious in his splendid spoils, and towering triumphant over all. The Roman realm, when upheaved in utter confusion, he, a knight, shall support; he shall strike down Carthaginian and insurgent Gaul, and a third time hang up the captured arms to father Quirinus."

¹⁵⁸ *Par.* xvii, 91-93.

¹⁵⁹ *Par.* v, 76-78.

¹⁶⁰ His was *gratia gratis data*, though not *gratia gratum faciens*.

¹⁶¹ *Aen.* vi, 855-859 (transl. Loeb Libr.).

But—*Dis aliter visum!* Young Marcellus must die, his triumph all incomplete.¹⁶³ So Virgil's story seems to Virgil a "tragedy."¹⁶³ But his fallible reason misread his true inspiration.¹⁶⁴ His Anchises presently also says that *if* Fate's harsh decree might be reversed, a "new Marcellus" should arise.¹⁶⁵ "Fate" is but God's providence.¹⁶⁶ By the miracle of the Cross Fate has been, and again may be, reversed.¹⁶⁷ There can a "new Marcellus" arise to whom the first would be but a "shadowy preface."¹⁶⁸ And now as "father Anchises" to Aeneas, forefather Cacciaguida names him to Dante.¹⁶⁹ Only, Cacciaguida speaks out of his own true knowledge.¹⁷⁰ He too points to the "confusion" of the "Roman realm"—shown in Rome's "daughter," Florence, so foul that was so fair. *Ex pede Herculem*. But, he concludes, look thou for deliverance to Can Grande. Must not Dante—and Dante's reader—infer in Can a "new Marcellus," who shall "strike down Carthaginian and insurgent Gaul"? "Carthaginian" Dante himself calls the Papacy, covetous of Rome's earthly dominion,¹⁷¹ "harlot" and "thief,"¹⁷² against whom a new "Scipio"—Marcellus incarnate—shall be sent.¹⁷³ "Insurgent Gaul" is still the pride-swollen rebel "giant" of France, envious of Caesar and therefore hating his defender Dante, and bending the pliant and captive Papacy to foul ends.¹⁷⁴

In their message—one in substance—which all command

¹⁶³ Ib. 882 ff.

¹⁶⁴ *Inf.* xx, 113.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Aquinas, *Summa theol.* II-II, clxxxi, 6, ad 2.

¹⁶⁶ *Aen.* vi, 882-3.

¹⁶⁷ *Inf.* vii, 67 ff.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. *Par.* xxii, 94-96.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. *Par.* xxx, 78.

¹⁷⁰ Dante himself points out the parallel, and uses Virgil's language and words. *Par.* xv, 25-30; *Aen.* vi, 835.

¹⁷¹ *Par.* xv, 55-63; xvii, 13-18.

¹⁷² *Epist.* viii, 165-172. In the *spiritual comedy*, the "Carthaginian" would be the "Circe" of "present things" vengeful of Dante, the new Aeneas, as the Carthaginian Dido of the founder of Rome. (*Aen.* iv, 380 ff.) Dante's spiritual "Scipio" is Beatrice, who shall overcome his "Circe." Hence the fitness of scattering over her at her coming roses and lilies (*Pg.* xxx, 21) as was done for Marcellus dead. (*Aen.* vi, 883. Dante quotes the Virgilian line itself.)

¹⁷³ *Pg.* xxxii, 149; xxxiii, 44.

¹⁷⁴ *Par.* xxvii, 61.

¹⁷⁵ *Pg.* xxxii, 151-160; xxxiii, 45.

Dante to transmit, Cacciaguida, patriot of Florence, thinks first of his own desecrated home,—Peter, founder of the Church, of his own polluted "seat,"¹⁷⁵—Beatrice, spirit of charity, of the thwarting of divine Love's "magnificent plan."¹⁷⁶ She evokes first a vision of the sad story.¹⁷⁷

From Jerusalem, where he suffered, Christ, the two-natured Griffin, has drawn the Car of his Church westward to Rome, where is planted the Tree of Justice. And he binds the Car by its pole, his Cross, to the Tree, so to await secure his second coming. The pagan Eagle of the Tree strikes it in vain. The sly Fox of False Doctrine is speedily cast out. But then, foolish in new friendliness, the Eagle moults into the Car his golden plumes. Grateful Constantine makes the fatal gift to Sylvester. The Car is weighted down to earth. The Dragon can reach it from below, and tear off part of its bottom. The great schism of the Eastern Church happens. When Constantine carried off to the East his branch of the Tree, he carried with it a fragment of the Car. And the riven Tree in the West withered; and the broken Car was changed by the Circean poison of the golden plumes into a two-natured monster, half bird, half beast,—a mockery of the holy Griffin. Upon it, instead of the Holy Spirit,—represented here by Beatrice,—a loose Harlot sits, beguiling and beguiled. No longer the rotted Tree holds the Car secure. Out of the Tree's decay has sprung a Giant, lustful and brutal, who when his Harlot casts a single glance towards Dante, drags her off out of sight. "Insurgent Gaul," strong in the Empire's decay, has dragged off the Church from Rome to Avignon. A moment Pope Clement had looked to Dante appealing for her right protector, Henry VII, who might have succored Clement as Charlemagne had succored Adrian.¹⁷⁸ But the "Gascon," another Judas, betrayed his savior that might have been.¹⁷⁹

It is the crisis of disaster for Christendom. As in Dante's own case, the "knot" is worthy of a "god." As for Dante Cacciaguida, so now Beatrice for Christendom—and for Dante

¹⁷⁵ *Par.* xxvii, 19–26.

¹⁷⁶ *Par.* vii, 113.

¹⁷⁷ *Pg.* xxxii, 100–160.

¹⁷⁸ *Par.* vi, 94–96. Cf. *Epist.* v, 126–130.

¹⁷⁹ *Par.* xvii, 82.

—announces him.¹⁸⁰ The Church, Car of salvation, no longer *whole*—"Catholic"—is no longer *holy*. And within its body still, poisonous, are those plumes of temporal power. They are the "sop" graciously given, but "evilily received."¹⁸¹ Yet "God's vengeance fears not the sop"—even though *after it Satan enter into the betrayer* to transform him into his own malignity. God will send one stronger than Satan to force the Church to disgorge, and to render again unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. The Eagle's "heir" shall be again full-feathered, and the Church regain her natural form. I read in the stars, concludes Beatrice, that even now the Deliverer is at hand. And he shall be a "Five hundred, ten, and five."

The "facts," she adds considerably, will clear up her dark riddle. She might, it seems, have spared Dante—and Dante's reader—the superfluous enigma of the number. Without its dark enlightenment, all the *facts*, as we have seen, pointed unmistakably to Can Grande as the man of destiny. Visibly, year by year, triumph by triumph, he was fulfilling her prophecy—and Virgil's and Cacciaguida's and Peter's. By his abundant fruits Dante might know him.

But Dante would get and give assurance doubly sure. Back of Beatrice's number is another of more immediately divine formulation. This is the number of the Beast—and of the Man—set down in *Revelations*. St. John, "Christ's Eagle,"¹⁸² strong-sighted through love, looked deepest into the Sun of truth. To him the dying Savior confided his own Mother.¹⁸³ She dying, her motherhood of man passed to the Church. So John became guardian of that vicarious Mother, and in vision was given warning of her peril, and—like Dante later—was commanded to publish it. Her membership, "family of the Lamb," shall be warred upon by the "family of the Dragon."¹⁸⁴ Through the "Mother" left exposed on earth Antichrist will strike at Christ. At the last and direst peril, when she seem lost, the Lamb himself shall descend and, slaying the Beast, lead his fellow-lambs into the heavenly fold.

¹⁸⁰ Pg. xxxiii, 31 ff.

¹⁸¹ John, xiii, 26-27—as currently interpreted. Cf. St. Bonaventure, *Comment. in Joan.* ad loc.

¹⁸² Par. xxv, 53.

¹⁸³ Par. xxv, 112-114.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Aquinas, *Expos. I. in Apoc.* xiii.

Thus John's narrative is, like Dante's, a comedy in which the distressed hero is in the nick of time rescued by a descending god. Also Dante, a "lamb" of the Lamb, is warred upon by the "wolves" of Florence, whelps of the Beast, the "old She-Wolf." But the "sacred poem," his "revelations," may be means of overcoming their cruelty, and of winning him return to the "dear fold" with "another voice, another fleece"—those of the Lamb *militant*—to receive a victor's crown.¹⁸⁵ Beatrice's prophecy reveals how his personal and earthly triumph may be brought about.

Object of John's solicitude is the holy Mother, spiritual "center" of Christ's Church.¹⁸⁶ Object of Dante's solicitude is Beatrice, his own Mother in Christ, and *center* of the Church descending to him in his vision.¹⁸⁷ Her Car has become an ambiguous Beast; her seat usurped by a Harlot. So John saw the Whore of Babylon on a seven-headed Beast.

"Historically" interpreted, the Beast's seven heads are the seven hills of degenerate Rome.¹⁸⁸

In John's allegory there are two Beasts, one from sea and one from land,—one, that is, from princely pride and one from priestly avarice.¹⁸⁹ The second Beast with dragon-voice urges submission to the first, proclaims that all who "buy and sell" *Christ* must show the mark—the number or name—of the first Beast.¹⁹⁰ And this mark is counterfeit of the mark of the Lamb. For the craft of Antichrist is to feign himself Christ, to hunt—like the *wolf* of the fable—in sheep's clothing. "As Christ is called king, pontiff and prophet, so Antichrist shall pretend to be now king, now pontiff, now prophet."¹⁹¹ His number is therefore Christ's number,—666.

By the cipher of Greek numerals,—since John wrote in

¹⁸⁵ *Par.* xxv, 1-12.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Albert. Mag., *De laudibus b. Mariae*, etc., II, ii, 17: "Ipsa dicitur umbilicus Ecclesiae; quia sicut umbilicus in medio totius corporis, sic ipsa in medio Ecclesiae." Cf. *Par.* xxxii, 127-130.

¹⁸⁷ *Pg.* xxix-xxx.

¹⁸⁸ Aquinas, Comment *ad loc.* Cf. the "parti elette" of *Par.* ix, 140; also *Inf.* xix, 106-111, where "on the waters" is *on the Tiber*.

¹⁸⁹ Aquinas, *op. cit.* xiii, *prin.* The Veltro feeds not on "land or pelf." *Inf.* i, 103.

¹⁹⁰ Aquinas, *op. cit.* xiii, *fin.* Cf. *Par.* xvii, 51.

¹⁹¹ Aquinas, *loc. cit.*

Greek,¹⁰²—this number spells "Teytan," or Titan, which interpreted is "sun" or "giant." By usurpation, the Beast will proclaim himself accordingly "sun of justice and giant of double nature, divine and human." Likewise, by Latin numerals,—pertinent because of the inspired Vulgate version,—DCLXVI spells "DIC-LVX," or "Say-Light," *i.e.*, *soi-disant* Light of the world.

Dante adapts this symbolism. The Pope of Rome has indeed vicarious right to call himself "Light of the world" in things spiritual. But that spiritual light he has darkened by claiming to be "Titan," "giant of double nature," and so "sun of justice" *temporal* as well. By "theft" of its proper power he has darkened the second "sun of Rome," justice of the Emperor, also.¹⁰³ Betraying the true, the "*pacific* Titan,"¹⁰⁴ set beside him for his earthly protection, he has fallen into the abusive clutches of a pretended "giant," in reality only big with pride.

Dante's numerical cipher is almost certainly composed in analogy with the numerical cipher of the *Apocalypse*. Certainly also he packed into it all possible significations, however strained or fanciful they may seem to a modern mind. Not to do so would have been to run counter to his own amazing ingenuity, countenanced as that was by the universal practice of the best minds of over ten centuries. There is a present-day tendency to deprecate inquiry into the methods and meanings of this age-old practice,—especially when used by a supreme poet like Dante.¹⁰⁵ It would seem to me, however, that precisely because a supreme poet does the thing, it is worth studying. Moreover, modern medieval scholars are—very properly—given to discussing the nature of what they call the medieval mind. From Augustine to Aquinas, and before and after, that mind expressed itself consistently and continuously in symbolic and allegorical ciphers, which for it seemed the procedure of the divine Mind also. Inquiry into these matters is difficult and may be a bore,

¹⁰² Aquinas stresses this point.

¹⁰³ *Pg.* xvi, 106-112.

¹⁰⁴ *Epist.* v, 10; vii, 19; *Par.* xvii, 82.

¹⁰⁵ Signor Croce, for instance, in all his writings about Dante. It may be noted, however, that he makes use of any "allotrious" interpretations that may heighten his literary effect.

but what should we think of a naturalist who declined to study the habits a dung-beetle or a maggot because he found these habits unsavory? If we really desire to understand the medieval mind, a Dante's mind, it would be essential, I should think, to study its habits, and not merely those among them that chance to appeal to our own superior minds.

The superabundance of analogous numerical ciphers is what makes decoding Dante's "515" difficult. In other words, there are so very many decodings for which it is possible to show plausible authority. I believe indeed, that when the right solution is found, its demonstration will be convincing. To put the matter on the lowest plane, Dante was too good a riddle-maker to leave loose ends. I do not pretend to have found the right solution to Beatrice's "hard riddle" in its number-aspect, but I am certain the solution must be confirmatory to the logic of her other teaching, and to the logic of the *Comedy* as a whole. I set down the following items of suggestion neither as an exhaustive explanation nor as themselves proved, but simply as illustration of one line of interpretation consistent with contemporary procedure and Dante's own habits of mind.

Beatrice's promised Deliverer is to restore the dispossessed true Titan, to let the eclipsed sun of temporal justice shine again. This temporal ruler is not the "two natured giant," Christ himself, nor yet vicar of both natures, but of authority solely human and temporal. 6, unit of John's number, expresses God's perfection; since as the factors of 6 are 3, 2 and 1, so there are 3 Persons, 2 natures in Christ, 1 essence of God.¹⁹⁶ Unit of the Deliverer's number is 5,—100, 2 and 1 times 5. His perfection whose number it is will be of Justice executive and commutative. He will be another and more potent Cacciaguida, going "against the iniquity of that law whose folk, by fault of the shepherd, usurp justice."¹⁹⁷ He will be another Joshua, Maccabaeus,¹⁹⁸ Scipio, Marcellus.¹⁹⁹ The natal influence shaping his nature as theirs—as also Can Grande's²⁰⁰—is the stamp of Mars, *fifth* heaven and heaven of the Cross.

¹⁹⁶ Aquinas, loc. cit.

¹⁹⁷ *Par.* xv, 142-144.

¹⁹⁸ *Par.* xviii, 37 ff.

¹⁹⁹ *Par.* xvii, 76-78.

²⁰⁰ *Par.* xvii, 76-78.

And the seal of the Cross upon the soul is the mark of the stigmata, the *five* wounds of Christ.²⁰¹ In them, declares St. Bonaventure,²⁰² "glow the superabundance of divine wisdom, power and goodness," feeding on which the Veltro, sheepdog of the Lamb, shall so be—in Virgil's list ²⁰³—*fifth* to save Italy by his "wounds." The Five Wounds shall serve him as the "five stones" served young David—to slay the giant Goliath.²⁰⁴ Once Dante had expected Henry VII to be the new David.²⁰⁵ But the sling had passed from his dying hand to Can's live one. By Can's prowess, the Five Wounds shall make and be a "safe asylum,"²⁰⁶ larger exemplar of the one he was to offer Dante.

Against the law of the "felon folk,"²⁰⁷ "family of the Beast," the Deliverer shall array the Law of Jove's Eagle, defined in "5 times 7 vowels and consonants."²⁰⁸ After the first 3 letters, DIL, there is pause, during which Dante appeals for understanding to the "Muse" that maketh to be glorious and long-lived men and cities and kingdoms. Then is spelled out Christ's Law of Justice: "*Diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram.*" Thus separately presented, the first 3 letters—number of the Trinity—serve as superscription to the Law, by recognized cipher initialling *Domini Iesu Lex*. Also, product of the numerals D, I and L—500 times 1 times 50—equals that of D, X and V—500 times 10 times 5—of the Deliverer's number. His *product* will be Christ's Law of the Roman Eagle.

For this product he must possess the authority implied in the thirty-*fifth* and last letter of the Law—the M of *terram*—*Monarchy* of earth. In the M, Jove's heaven appears "silver distinct from gold,"—the power of the universal Monarchy is temporal, distinct from the spiritual Papacy. To reach its perfection, its entelechy, the M develops from national mon-

²⁰¹ Cf. *Par.* xi, 107.

²⁰² *Op.*, Paris, 1871, xiii, p. 193.

²⁰³ *Inf.* i, 106-108.

²⁰⁴ Bonaventure, XIII, pp. 20, 55, 68.

²⁰⁵ *Epist.* vii, 176-183.

²⁰⁶ Bonaventure, XII, p. 659.

²⁰⁷ *Par.* xv, 145.

²⁰⁸ *Par.* xviii, 88-89. In the Bible, carrier of the Law, there are 35 books. Cf. *Pg.* xxix.

archy to international, from "Lily" to "Eagle."²⁰⁹ *Five* nations have striven towards this self-fulfilment,—Assyrian, Egyptian, Persian, Macedonian, Roman. The *fifth*, or Roman, alone succeeded.²¹⁰

The Veltro feeds on "wisdom and love and virtue." The *virtue* is fortitude, heritage from the imperial *fifth* race and gift of the *fifth* heaven. The *wisdom* is of the Law temporal inscribed on Moses' two tablets, the *twice five* Commandments.²¹¹ The *love* is the "ardor of sacrifice"²¹² of the Cross expressed in the 5 wounds multiplied 100 fold by divine Charity, since "Charity is signified by 100."²¹³

This "Five hundred, ten and five" shall slay the "Thief" and the "Giant," the recreant Papacy and her pride-swollen paramour, or Monarch of the Lily, usurpers both of the power of Rome, counterfeiters of the "Number of the Man." But false Rome has a false daughter, Florence, city of the "*five* thieves,"²¹⁴ herself a giant *fivefold* swollen in pride.²¹⁵ She is another Pentapolis, City of *Five*, once in obedience to the Law of the "*Five Books*," the Pentateuch, an earthly paradise, but now sunk to a Dead Sea, instable and fetid, of Pride.²¹⁶ Her *wisdom* is blindness;²¹⁷ her *love* malignity;²¹⁸ her *power* the "accursed flower" of Circe, her *florin*, feeding on which the shepherd turns wolf,²¹⁹ and her *Lily*, which severed from the Eagle, its natural "head," is shamed and bloody.²²⁰

Spoken only in the tongue of the "Latins," Beatrice's number should carry only the cipher of Latin characters. By anagram, these, DXV, reveal the Deliverer as a DVX. In Roman usage, Dux is a military commander. The title would fit the new

²⁰⁹ Ib. 97-114.

²¹⁰ *Mon.* II, ix.

²¹¹ Aquinas so explains the factor 10 of the second numeral 60 of the number of the Beast.

²¹² *Par.* xiv, 93.

²¹³ Aquinas, *loc. cit.*: ". . . Charitas, quae significatur per centenarium."

²¹⁴ *Inf.* xxvi, 1-6.

²¹⁵ *Par.* xvi, 46-48.

²¹⁶ Aquinas, *loc. cit.*

²¹⁷ *Inf.* xv, 67.

²¹⁸ Ib. 61.

²¹⁹ *Par.* ix, 127 ff.

²²⁰ *Par.* xvi, 151-154.

"Scipio" predicted by St. Peter, but not—naturally—an *Imperator*, or Emperor.²²¹ The "infallible"²²² Lady should not falsify facts, or contradict the "apostolic light" of her Church! But there is absolutely no basis for *necessary* identification of her champion with the "heir of the Eagle," a coming Right Emperor. On the contrary, she says plainly that *sometime in the future* there shall be an "heir," but that her champion is *now at hand*. This champion, sheriff-like, may, however, forcibly seize the stolen property, and hold it in trust for the "heir" to come. "The facts," she says, will solve her "hard riddle" of the champion's identity. The facts showed Dante no prospect in any near future of a right Emperor. After "exalted Harry's" death, the two squabbling pretenders—"German" Frederick and Louis—were worse than even "German Albert." He at least could, if he would, have made himself a true Caesar and a peace-maker for Italy.²²³ Frederick and Louis were—during Dante's lifetime—impotent even against each other. They brought not peace but war. The imperial "saddle" was empty, and likely to remain so indefinitely, though Justinian had "patched the bridle."²²⁴ He however, true *Imperator et Dux*, had pointed the way out. Called to higher things himself, he made Belisarius, with whom manifestly was heaven's right hand, vicarious Dux.²²⁵ Also—and more literally—called to higher things, confident in Can Grande's "Star," Henry had named him Vicar Imperial,—*Dux "pro imperio sacrosancto Romano."*²²⁶

By currently used cipher, the champion's number implies Can Grande's name. *Can Grande* was understood to mean "Great Khan," Tartar title equivalent to the Roman *Dux*.²²⁷ In medieval Latin, again, the characters *X* (for *Ch*, Greek χ), *C* and *K* are interchangeable.²²⁸ *D*, *X*, *V*, therefore, do actually

²²¹ A Caesar's full title was "Imperator et Dux."

²²² *Par.* vii, 19.

²²³ *Pg.* vi, 76-117.

²²⁴ *Ib.* 88-90.

²²⁵ *Par.* vi, 22-27.

²²⁶ *Aqua et terra*, xxiv, 3-4; *Epist.* x, superscript.

²²⁷ Even two centuries later, Paolo Giovio still so explains, suggesting that some crusading ancestor of Can's may have assumed it in token of triumph. *Elog. viror. bellica virt. illust.*, I (ed. Basil, 1596), p. 42.

²²⁸ Du Cange, *Gloss.*, s.n.K.

initial Dante's own title for Can,—*Dominus Kanis Victori-
osissimus*.²²⁹

Commentators have long recognized the obvious pun on *Can Grande*, "Great Dog," in Virgil's *Veltro*. It is not to smile. Puns are serious things for Dante and his age. *Nomina sunt consequentia rerum*.²³⁰ A preëstablished harmony was recognized in names.²³¹ But there is also correspondence between the *Veltro* and Beatrice's Dux. The *Veltro* is to chase back to hell the greedy *Lupa*. The Dux shall send to damnation the *Harlot*. In Latin and Italian a *harlot* is a *lupa*.²³²

When the "She-Wolf" *couples*, mankind *troubles*.²³³ That her double Beast—monstrous commixion of spiritual and temporal power—"may not be taken away from her,"²³⁴ the Papacy whores with princes of the earth, cajoling these to rebel against the Emperor, their lord and her prey. Other "sons of earth," the Giants, once rebelled against their lord, high Jove. But with his children—the "Thymbraean," Pallas and Mars, he overthrew them.²³⁵

On this legend Dante bases complicated symbolic analogies, of which my space permits only barest hints. It was "*Thymbraean*" Apollo who bade Aeneas return to the land of his ancestors, the "soil that sent him forth."²³⁶ Apollo likewise inspires Dante, and to like enterprise.²³⁷ Since Apollo has "entered into" him, Dante himself enacts the "*Thymbraean*." Pallas—the Roman Minerva and the Holy Roman Virgin Mary—has set her "leaves" of wisdom on Beatrice's head.²³⁸ Her rôle, therefore, Beatrice enacts. Can Grande, another Romulus and son of Mars,²³⁹ enacts in service of the Cross the deity of

²²⁹ *Epist.* x, superscript.

²³⁰ *V. N.* xiii, 20-21.

²³¹ Aquinas, *S. T.* III, xxxvii, 2. Cf. *Par.* xi, 52-54; xii, 67-70.

²³² Cf. Isidore, *Etymol.* (ed. Oxford, 1911) XVIII, xlii, 2: "*Lupae meretrices sunt a rapacitate vocatae, quod ad se rapiant miseros et adprehendant.*" Cf. *lupanar*.

²³³ The punning connection between *ammóglia* of *Inf.* i, 100 and *ammólia* of *Par.* xxx, 139 is patent.

²³⁴ *Pg.* xxxii, 151.

²³⁵ *Pg.* xii, 31-33.

²³⁶ *Aen.* iii, 85 ff.

²³⁷ *Par.* i, 19-21; xxv, 1-12.

²³⁸ *Pg.* xxx, 69.

²³⁹ *Par.* xvii, 76-78. Cf. *Par.* viii, 131.

his paternal heaven. United, these three—Dante, Beatrice, Can Grande, or Love, Wisdom, Power—shall overthrow the "Giants," and redeem the soil that sent Dante forth.²⁴⁰

This is Dante's personal and nearer goal. Also he conceived the humbling of Florence to be Can's next strategic objective. The Florentine "flower"—both *florin* and *Lily*—was potent against the Roman Peace. Florentine money-power corrupted, and also gave the 'sinews of war'; her standard of the Lily was raised against the Empire. Moreover, she was next neighbor to Lombardy, nearly pacified already by Can. Tuscany humbled would form with Lombardy a state under Can's Eagle such as that Cacciaguida had lived in under the aegis of the just and valiant Countess Matilda. For the loyal remnant it would be an earthly paradise, even though outside there stretched a desert of "thorns and thistles," haunt of beast-like men, Circe's changelings. After all, was not the first Eden so? "If it be asked," wrote Aquinas, "why God made not all earth man's paradise, it may be replied that a large part of the earth had to be set aside for the other animals to abide in with their kind. For man, however, as noblest part and end of creation, the noblest part of earth was reserved."²⁴¹ North Italy, at least, now a "desert,"²⁴² might become again a "garden" under the Tree of Justice.

Such a garden it had been under Matilda's rule. She too had defended her realm against a "giant," defying Henry IV as Cato had defied Julius Caesar. For Cato the imperial office Caesar founded and first filled was sacred. For assaulting it, Brutus and Cassius writhe in the mouths of Satan.²⁴³ The man Julius, however, was no Eagle, but a predatory "hawk."²⁴⁴ The right Caesar should rule as a freeman over freemen.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁰ Variant of this symbolism appears in *Par.* ii, 7-9. The two "Bears," guides of the mariner on life's sea, I conceive to be Pope and Emperor. The Great Bear (or Wain, or Car of the Church) is lost behind a cloud of sin. Also, the present Papacy—typified by Nicholas (*Inf.* xix, 67-123)—is "son of the Bear" of Cupidity. Hence, whereas the true Great Bear, Helice, is mother to the lesser Bear, Arcas (*Par.* xxxi, 31-33), the Papacy is murderous "stepmother" to Caesar. Both Bears are so lost to mankind; but, aided as before, Dante shall rediscover them.

²⁴¹ *Expos. in Genesim*, ii, *me*.

²⁴² *Pg.* vi, 103-105.

²⁴³ *Inf.* xxxiv, 55-67.

²⁴⁴ *Inf.* iv, 123.

²⁴⁵ *Mon.* I, xi.

Julius was a slave to appetite, to feed which he made his subjects slaves.³⁴⁶ By like distinction, Dante condemned and resisted Boniface VIII, even while rebuking the impiety of Anagni.³⁴⁷ And one and the same principle justified his siding *against* Pope Boniface and Matilda's siding *with* Pope Gregory. To Peter, no less than to Caesar, must be rendered the things that are *his*. Boniface had usurped Caesar's prerogatives; Henry IV Peter's. Against just protest, Henry had insisted on appointing Church officials. Also, he was not reverent but insolent to the holy Father.³⁴⁸ It should be remembered that Dante was no hard-shell Ghibelline, but *a party by himself*.

Cato's spirit pervades and rules the whole purgatorial Mount,³⁴⁹ rejecting the unfit,³⁵⁰ spurring on the laggard.³⁵¹ So in life he had urged the remnant of Pompey's army across the Libyan desert.³⁵² And it is his freedom-thirsting spirit that spurs Dante to follow Virgil, the imperial ideal, up the mount of chastening torment, the sandy desert outside the garden of his desire.³⁵³ His own freedom the living Cato could not win. His desire was noble, but his eyes were without light. No more than Virgil may he enter into the earthly paradise.³⁵⁴ Himself entering therein, Dante sees at first the spirit of Matilda alone. By degrees she leads him, however, to Beatrice descended again into the Car of the Church remade whole and holy.

The allegory is clear. Dante is readmitted into the garden of his delight, which is none other than the dark jungle he had fled, but now lifted up from the valley of the shadow of sin to the sun-lit heights of rectitude. The tangle of malignant growths is pruned away. The ordered and fruitful trees make a green shade where birds sing. Virgil is justified. Justice has returned, and the first *humane* time. The age renews

³⁴⁶ *Mon.* II, v, 132-170.

³⁴⁷ *Pg.* xx, 85-96.

³⁴⁸ Cf. *Mon.* III, xvi, 134-140.

³⁴⁹ *Pg.* i, 65-66, 82.

³⁵⁰ *Pg.* i, 28 ff.

³⁵¹ *Pg.* ii, 118 ff.

³⁵² *Inf.* xiv, 113-115.

³⁵³ *Pg.* i, 71.

³⁵⁴ By imputed faith he shall, it seems, be admitted into the heavenly paradise, —and Virgil also, if Beatrice's grateful intercession avail. *Inf.* ii, 73-74.

itself²⁵⁵—of Cacciaguida's Florence "at peace within her ancient close, sober and chaste," under her Countess Matilda.²⁵⁶ Matilda's springtime spirit, this long while captive, like Proserpine,²⁵⁷ in this other realm of Pluto, the "accursed wolf," has resurrection—in the *Scaliger*, bearer of the Ladder under the Eagle.

Consider the interweaving of the multiple symbolism. Can Grande, bearer of "exalted Harry's" commission, justiciary of the Eagle, shall have made Florence fit for the abode of just men. By his friendly "ladder" (*Scala*),²⁵⁸ Dante will climb back to the city, exalted because humbled, as from it, debased to hell, he had climbed by the enemy "ladder" of the fallen Eagle, Lucifer. Now safe under the Eagle as unfallen Adam under the sacred Tree, he may train himself to climb the spiritual "ladder" from earth to heaven,²⁵⁹ from Caesar's eagle-nest to the nest of the "Eagle of Christ,"—and not only to Christ's "best beloved," but to his own also. For Beatrice is the "Eagle" that first plumed him for flight with her own plumage of love,²⁶⁰ and trained his eaglet-eyes to look upon the "Sun of the angels."²⁶¹ She it is, as Adam tells Dante, that has "disposed" him to the long ladder to be climbed.²⁶²

And Dante, as he climbs, reads the signs of his destiny writ large upon the heavens themselves. First, against the Sun, light-giver that "guideth aright everyone in every way,"²⁶³ glows the triple Circle of Prudence, weighing things past, present and future. Within the Circle forms the Cross of Mars. "Arise Again, and conquer!" its spirits urge Dante.²⁶⁴ His house was founded on the rock of Cacciaguida's martyrdom. He shall take his own stand thereon. To him, then, "Jove's

²⁵⁵ *Pg.* xxii, 70-73.

²⁵⁶ *Par.* xv, 97 ff.

²⁵⁷ *Pg.* xxviii, 49-51.

²⁵⁸ *Epist.* x, par. 2.

²⁵⁹ *Par.* xxi, 25 ff.

²⁶⁰ *Par.* xv, 52-54; *Inf.* ii, 72.

²⁶¹ *Par.* i, 46-54; xxi, 1-12; xxii, 124-126; xxiii, 46-48; xxvi, 1-12; xxxiii, 49-57.

²⁶² *Par.* xxvi, 109-111. Cf. *Par.* x, 82-87. Adam appears fitly after Dante's successful examination in the three holy virtues, for these shall bring him to Adam's double paradise, earthly and heavenly.

²⁶³ *Inf.* i, 17-18.

²⁶⁴ *Par.* xiv, 121-126.

Bird" takes gradual shape, issuing from the sacred Law.²⁶⁵ Its right he must maintain against the "felon folk" that, scorning it, martyred his kinsman,—aye, and his kinsman's home and his. And in gratitude, borne by his prince Can Grande, that Eagle will shed its plumes on Florence to make for him therein a nest of peace. Another Ladder then will be let down from heaven, that which Jacob also saw in dream reaching up to God's own throne,²⁶⁶ the triune Circle of the Godhead.²⁶⁷ And up that final Ladder, another Eagle will draw him,—Christ's own "Eagle," Love.²⁶⁸

Thus by Ladder and Eagle man is drawn from Circle to Circle. The first Circle bears Christ's Cross; the second his Countenance.²⁶⁹ By the Ladder of his Cross man climbs to sight of his Countenance. That dolorous effort is the *merit* in which man is sustained by divine *grace* through the vicarious double Eagle, Emperor and Pope.

Dante's hope, therefore, requires these two factors of merit and grace, Ladder and Eagle.²⁷⁰ Because he feels both to be assured, he may call his autobiographical narrative a *Comedy*. Christ the divine "Eagle" has sent his "family" of lesser Eagles to sustain him against the "family of the Beast,"—Beatrice, full of charity, to be for him wing-giver and vision-strengtheners,—Virgil, "Eagle" of poets and prophet-voice of the Eagle of Rome,—Can Grande, the Scaliger, bearer of the Ladder under the Eagle by which Dante himself shall climb back into his Florence made perfect under the headship of the Roman Eagle. The Lily will fulfil itself in the Eagle, as divinely intended. Dante himself, thanks to the *Scaliger*, the Ladder-bearer, is made ready for the heaven-ascending "plumes" with which Beatrice will fit him,²⁷¹ and so justify interpretation of his name as the "*Alagherius*,"²⁷² the Wing-bearer.

²⁶⁵ *Par.* xviii, 70 ff.

²⁶⁶ *Par.* xxi, 25-30; xxii, 61-72.

²⁶⁷ *Par.* xxiii, 115 ff.

²⁶⁸ *Par.* xxii, 100-102; xxxi, 65-66, 94-102.

²⁶⁹ *Par.* xiv, 100-102; xxxiii, 130-132.

²⁷⁰ *Par.* xxv, 67-69.

²⁷¹ *Par.* xv, 53-54. Her spiritual "plumes" have a power inverse to that of the Cerean "plumes" given to the Church-chariot. *Pg.* xxxii, 124 ff.

²⁷² So spelt in his own title of the *Comedy*. *Epist.* x, 190.

Furthermore, Can will repeat the service of the great Otto. Otto the Great founded, as said above,²⁷³ the Holy Roman Empire in Lombardy, identifying himself with the Lombards by marrying their Queen Adelaide, whom he had rescued. Can *Grande*, already the *great* Lombard, shall *refound* out of its ruins this holy Empire in Lombardy and Tuscany, identifying himself with the Tuscans by "marrying," making himself one in spirit with, their good Countess Matilda.

And in the backward glance, Dante may recognize that he himself at the very outset unwittingly voiced the happy outcome in all its aspects. For consenting to Virgil's plan, he had besought:

"That thou conduct me whither thou hast said,
So I may look upon St. Peter's Gate."²⁷⁴

At the time, he *meant* the Gate of Heaven, whether conceived as of Purgatory, or of Paradise itself. On earth, however, St. Peter's Gate is the Portal of the Church. And Virgil did conduct him thither, to wit, to the Church-chariot, into which Beatrice, the holy spirit of Charity, has redescended. But at the beginning, Dante—the Dante of the drama—did not realize that the earthly paradise he should, following Virgil, regain was in truth *his* earthly paradise, his "dear fold," Florence, to be made again fit shelter for a "lamb" of God.²⁷⁵ He did not realize that he should see again its "Porta di San Piero," birth-place of himself and his ancestors.²⁷⁶

Thus Dante's whole progress will prove to be a circle back to the earliest beginnings of himself and his. It is the way all mankind should take—back to the "primo tempo umano."²⁷⁷ Otherwise, it goes from bad to worse.²⁷⁸

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With the exile's return ends the Purgatory, second act of the *Comedy*. In the third act, the Paradiso, he rises with Beatrice

²⁷³ Pp. 22-23.

²⁷⁴ *Inf.* i, 133-134.

²⁷⁵ Cf. *Par.* xxv, 1-12.

²⁷⁶ Giovanni Villani calls Dante "honorevole antico cittadino di Firenze di porta di san Piero." *Cronica*, lib. ix, cap. 135. Cf. *Par.* xvi, 40-42.

²⁷⁷ *Pg.* xxii, 71.

²⁷⁸ Cf., e.g., *Par.* xxi, 91-96; xxvii, 136-138.

altogether away from earth, even from Matilda's lofty realm. But he goes only to return. The experience he shall have gathered on high—as previously in hell below—is for the good of Florence as well as for his own. By Can Grande's right and might she will have been made again what she was under Matilda,—a city of freemen under a free lord. But true freedom is service of justice. The Florentine “remnant,” entered again into this freedom, must walk and work in it. They must fit them to climb the Ladder to the final “freedom of eternal glory.”²⁷⁹ Himself, the now full-fledged Eagle, will train them as he has been trained. He will make over his people into likenesses to that “people just and sound” of the heavenly city—antithesis of the City of Dis—he has seen in his dream.²⁸⁰ He will lead “Stattius” into the earthly paradise. His *Hell* mirrors Florence as she now—as he writes—is; his *Paradise* mirrors what his hope would make her.

The poet in exile can only picture his hope. But if his hope of return were realized, if with “another voice, another fleece” he should assume at his baptismal font the *cappello*, if Peter's true *representative* should therewith “encircle his brow,”²⁸¹ might he not make his dream reality? Knowing as we do his premature death, we are apt to think of Dante's career as ended with his great poem. He had no reason to think so.²⁸² For him, still in vigorous middle-life, conscious of his genius, much-experienced in affairs, rehabilitation in a Florence purged of enemies could not mean a leisured retirement. His “friend” Can Grande must still need his aid and counsel. Was it not written that “to rule well and perfectly, philosophical authority must be conjoined with imperial”?²⁸³ Moreover, the still youthful prince must need a mentor.²⁸⁴ Dante would have been to him another “Romeo”; but from Can's “magnificence” Romeo's “ill requital” was no wise to be feared.²⁸⁵ Nor would

²⁷⁹ *Epist.* x, 154–155.

²⁸⁰ *Par.* xxxi, 37–39.

²⁸¹ *Par.* xxv, 1–12.

²⁸² Cf. *Inf.* xxxi, 127–129; *Par.* xxii, 14–15; *Pg.* v, 46–47.

²⁸³ *Conv.* IV, vi, 157 ff.

²⁸⁴ *Conv.* IV, xxiv. Can was born in 1291.

²⁸⁵ *Par.* vi, 127–142. The logic of Justinian's whole discourse is: the Roman Eagle's progress has been halted; another Romeo is needed to guide onward the

the loyalist Florentines, by his counsels triumphant, be as the envious Provençalese. Had he not served as Rahab, by whose aid Joshua had won Jericho, and whose household therefore Joshua had spared?²⁸⁶ To the victory he helped "by one and other palm,"—palm of poet and of statesman, Virgil's twofold pupil, *autore* by both derivations, *author* and *authority*.²⁸⁷ *Il cappello*—meaning both *chaplet* of poet and *cap* of authority—would fitly recognize his double claim. There would be poetic justice, too, in the conferring of the *cap* at his baptismal font, seeing that the amnesty once offered him required him to wear thither a *fool's-cap* written over with his name and shame.²⁸⁸

Instrumental in freeing his city from servitude of sin, he will be given authority to train her, so purged, in service of justice. He will be the *silvano*, the forester,²⁸⁹ of that once Dark Wood, now set in a high place near unto heaven. It will be a pleasant arbor, shaded like Eden from the too burning rays of the sun.²⁹⁰ Mortality cannot withstand the direct glory of God's face.²⁹¹ But Dante has seen a garden fairer still, all of roses and lilies in full sunlight;²⁹² and at last a single Rose, upon whose petals are enthroned, triumphant, the soldiery of Christ.²⁹³ It is the Rose of Charity, central in the heavenly paradise, as was the Tree of Justice in the earthly. The Lily of Faith is consummated in the Rose of Charity as the Lily of national Justice in the Eagle of imperial. As far as may be Dante the forester will bring his wooded city nearer to that beatific garden letting in the sun of divine truth as the vision of his charges strengthens—until naught need be interposed save the veil of mortality itself.

Thus he will have lifted up his humbled people from the sacred bird. Also, Dante is a "romeo" in a figurative sense,—a seeker of the true Rome. To that end he had been a "palmer," bearing his *palm* of grace across the sea of sin (*Par.* xxvii, 55–66),—and a "pilgrim," wandering perforce *far from his native land* to the shrine of hope (*Par.* xxv, 17–18, 82–87). *Vita Nuova* xli, 34–52.

²⁸⁶ *Joshua* vi, 17. *Par.* ix, 115 ff.

²⁸⁷ *Inf.* i, 85. Cf. *Conv.* IV, vi, 14–37.

²⁸⁸ Cf. Paget Toynbee, *Dantis Epistolae*, Oxford, 1920, p. 154, n. 4.

²⁸⁹ *Pg.* xxxii, 100.

²⁹⁰ *Pg.* xxviii, 1–3. Cf. Aquinas, *Expos. in Gen.* ii.

²⁹¹ Cf. *Pg.* xvii, 52–54. *Par.* xxi, 1–12.

²⁹² *Par.* xxiii, 70 ff.

²⁹³ *Par.* xxx, 124–126; xxxi, 1–3, *et seq.*

depths to the heights. He will have served Matilda and Beatrice, as Jacob served Leah and Rachel. Through *both* he has begotten good works. For his must be a double service, a priestly task besides a political. Peter's seat is empty, as well as Caesar's throne. Until they are filled again, he must in humility take upon himself their double guidance. Into the earthly paradise he leads both Virgil and Statius.²⁹⁴ The neighborly task done, Dante like aged Jacob, aged Marcia,²⁹⁵ will turn himself wholly to God in the joy of contemplation long deferred. The Virtues will no longer forbid.²⁹⁶ And for guide, Beatrice, modestly withdrawn into her heaven, will send him Bernard,²⁹⁷ in whom, as in Virgil, symbol and reality meet. St. Bernard is no mere personification of *Contemplation*, rapture of the lonely soul to God. His life offers not merely high example of this rapture. In his writings,²⁹⁸ he actually taught Dante the way of the mystic, as Virgil actually the way of the statesman. Also, there is another real, if remoter, influence. Bernard as monk preached the Crusade in which Dante's forbear Cacciaguida bore his Cross, and so bade Dante take up his. Finally, Bernard was Mary's best beloved,²⁹⁹ Eagle-messenger of the Mother as John of the Son. She, to whom Dante daily prays,³⁰⁰ is alpha and omega of all his mercies. Her handmaid Beatrice she sent for his justification; from her servant Bernard she receives him, justified; and herself intercedes for his reward. Yet behind and above these "magnificences" is her gift of her Son, whose Cross is the true crux of Dante's personal comedy, and of whatso other shall have happy issue here or hereafter.

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²⁹⁴ *Pg.* xxviii, 82.

²⁹⁵ *Conv.* IV, xxviii, 97-163.

²⁹⁶ *Pg.* xxxii, 1-9.

²⁹⁷ *Par.* xxxi, 94-98.

²⁹⁸ *Cf. Epist.* x, 554-555.

²⁹⁹ *Par.* xxxi, 100-102; xxxii, 106-108.

³⁰⁰ *Par.* xxiii, 88-89.

REMARKS ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES' WORKS

IN this article we shall be concerned with the dates of the *Erec* and *Yvain* and, merely incidentally, with that of the *Lancelot*. There are no radical changes of accepted dates proposed in the following pages but simply a few additional points which may be of interest to the student of Chrétien de Troyes.

To sum up briefly, the following dates are those most widely accepted at present:

<i>Erec</i>	after 1150; ¹
<i>Lancelot</i>	after 1164, probably 1170;
<i>Yvain</i>	before 1173.

It has been impossible to set any precise dates for their composition, but the three romances were probably written in the above chronological order—with the *Cligès* intervening between the *Erec* and the *Lancelot* for reasons well known to every scholar.² The year 1164 is furnished by the introduction of the *Lancelot* (v. 1, ff.), in which Chrétien speaks of “ma dame de Champagne.” This lady must have been Marie de Champagne,³ the daughter of Louis VII and Aliénor d'Aquitaine, who married Henry I, count of Champagne, 1164, at the age of nineteen. At that date then she became Chrétien's “dame de Champagne.” It is obviously a *terminus a quo* for the *Lancelot* and consequently for the *Yvain*. What we need next is a *terminus ad quem*. Both Foerster and Gaston Paris believed they had found this in the *Yvain*.

The knight Calogrenanz has just related his adventures before Keu, Yvain, Gauvain, the Queen, and others. He had met in the forest of Broceliande a “vilain monstueux” (v. 288),

¹ kl. *Erec und Enid*, herausgegeben von Foerster, Halle, 1909, p. x.

² kl. *Cligès*, Foerster (4th ed.), Halle, 1921, pp. viii ff. For G. Paris see *Rom.* XII, p. 462.

³ *Der Karrenritter*, Foerster, Halle, 1899, pp. xviii ff. kl. *Cligès*, *ibid.*, pp. xv ff.

the guardian of a herd of savage bulls. This gigantic herdsman had directed him towards a marvellous fountain where an extraordinary adventure was to be met with—a fountain sheltered by a pine of singular beauty. Beside this fountain was a “perron” of emerald. The knight had but to pour a few drops of the spring’s water from a basin which hung beside it (v. 395), whereupon he would see such a tempest “qu’an cest bois ne remaindra beste, chevriaus ne dains ne cers ne pors. Nes li oisel s’an istront fors (vs. 398–99). . . . Que, si tu t’an puez departir sanz grant enui et sanz pesance, Tu seras de meillor cheance Que chevaliers qui i fust” (vs. 404–7). Calogrenanz had followed the herdsman’s directions and found all as it was described. He had met defeat at the hands of a strange knight who came to challenge him for his breaking of the *geis* or taboo. The episode needs no further telling. Yvain immediately declares that he will go and avenge the shame (v. 581). It is then that Keu the scoffer mocks him, saying:

Bien pert qu’il est après mangier

Plus a paroles an plain pot

De vin qu’an un mui de cervoise.

v. 595 Apres mangier sanz remuer
Va chascuns Noradin tuer.

Gaston Paris and Foerster are agreed that this remark can have no force unless Nureddin, Sultan of Aleppo, were still alive.⁴ Nureddin, born in 1146, died in 1173. Certain manuscripts would seem to bear out this argument.⁵ Those of Rome and Chantilly have replaced Nureddin by Saladin, who was the former’s successor. It must have been that the scribes of these manuscripts no longer knew Nureddin. The manuscripts A and B of Holland⁶ have Loradin. The name Noradin was unknown to these copyists as well. If I may differ here, I am not so certain this reasoning should be taken as infallible. A man’s name does not cease to exist proverbially the very year of his death. (We still speak of someone being “as rich as

⁴ See p. 1, n. 2.

⁵ See *Rom.* XII, p. 462, n. 6.

⁶ W. Holland, *Li romans dou chevalier au Lyon, Hanovre*, 1862.

Andrew Carnegie.") Not one of these manuscripts which have changed the name of Nureddin to Saladin was copied anywhere in the neighborhood of 1175 or 1180.⁷ Later, to be sure, Saladin became more famous than his father, owing to subsequent crusades, but that does not necessarily mean that Chrétien, supposing he had written the *Yvain* in 1175 or 1176, could not still have used such an expression as "Va chascuns Noradin tuer." The name was still intelligible at that period and was doubtless so for many years to come. Such petrified expressions as this are exceedingly common in all ages.

As for the placing of the *Lancelot* preferably some five or six years after 1164, let us examine briefly the evidence. E. Muret thought ⁸ that "le Conte de la Charrette peut avoir été écrit dans les années qui suivirent immédiatement le mariage de la fille de Louis VII avec le comte de Champagne en 1164." Why should we prefer a later date? The argument has been that a young woman of some twenty years could not have sanctioned, much less suggested, a narrative with an immorality so apparent, so shameless, especially in the years immediately following her marriage.⁹ One can offer two counter arguments:

(1) According to Foerster, Marie sanctioned "l'adultère sans honte" depicted in the second part of the *Heraclius*.¹⁰ This romance Foerster dates in the neighborhood of 1164.

(2) Where is the gross immorality in the *Lancelot*? This love of a chevalier for a "dame mariée" is characteristic of a genre. It implies no guilt, no personal depravity on the part of the young countess of Champagne. If it did, how much infidelity there must have been throughout France and England during the Troubadour period.

This last argument I feel sure must be accepted, tacitly at least, by every scholar interested in the question at the present day. I have sketched these views here briefly, merely to call to mind the fact that only *one* date is sure which can apply to these romances, namely the year 1164. The *Lancelot* and

⁷ The earliest manuscripts we possess of Chrétien de Troyes belong to the 13th century.

⁸ *Rom.* XVI, p. 361 ff.

⁹ *Der Karrenritter*, *ibid.*, p. xix.

¹⁰ *kl. Chigès*, *ibid.*, p. xvi.

the *Yvain* are certainly posterior to that year, but just how much later no one can say with certainty. Stephan Hofer in a very recent article¹¹ places the *Erec* between 1165 and 1167. His argument is based on verse 6187 of this poem:

Et les dames un lai troverent
Que le Lai de Joie apelerent;
Mes n'est gueires li lais setüz.

The *lai*, as a *genre*, he believes, was invented by Marie de France, and this Marie de France he believes to have been the same as our Marie de Champagne.¹² I should hesitate about accepting this until we can learn more of the origin of the *lai*. Even if Marie de France did invent the *lai* in the form it has in *Guigemar*, *Laustic*, *li Fraïsnès*, etc., can we say whether another form of *lai* did not exist before her time? I leave aside the question as to whether or not she is to be identified with Marie de Champagne.

The historical details and other similar references are very meagre in the romances of Chrétien de Troyes. We have seen this above, yet there are a few passages which I believe have been neglected.

At the end of the *Erec*, the father of Erec, Lac, is dead. Erec is to be crowned at the "feste de la Nativité" at Nantes, and a large group of counts and barons assemble there to witness the ceremony.

v. 6645 I ot contes et dus et rois,
Normanz, Bretons, Escoz, Irois;
D'Angleterre et de Cornoaille
I ot mout riche baronaille;
Que des Gales jusqu'an Anjo,
Ne el Mainne ne an Peito
N'ot chevalier de grant afeire
Ne jantil dame de bone eire,
Que les mellors et les plus jantes
Ne fussent a la cort a Nantes.

¹¹ *ZfrPh* 1921.

¹² This theory was advanced by E. Winkler in an article entitled "Französische Dichter des Mittelalters; II, Marie de France," *Sitzungsberichte der kaiser. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 188, Bd. 3, 1918. For the contrary v. Ezio Levi, "Sulla cronologia di Maria di Francia," *Nuovi Studi Medievali*, vol. I, 1922.

Where are the françois, danois, tiois, flamencs, espagnols, etc.? Hofer thinks this passage has been influenced by v. 10497 ff. of the *Brut*.¹³ Here are the verses:¹⁴

- v. 10497 I valt Artur sa cort tenir
 Tos ses barons i fist venir,
 Manda ses rois et tos ses contes
- v. 10503 Manda François et Borgheignons,
 Manda Auvergnos et Gascons,
 Manda Normans et Poitevins,
 Manda Mansaus et Angevins,
 Manda Braibençons et Flamens,
 Manda Hanuiers et Lorins,
 Manda Frisons, manda Tiois,
 Manda Norois, manda Danois,
 Manda Escos, manda Irois
 Manda puis les Islandois,
 Manda puis les Catenois,
 Manda puis les Gotlandois,
 Manda ceus de Galewee,
 Manda ceus qui tindrent Orcanee.

In the *Brut* the nationalities of practically the whole of western Europe as known to Wace are mentioned. Chrétien has a much more restricted number and, I believe, for a *very definite reason*. He caused to be present at the ceremony of the *coronement* only those peoples who at the time of his writing were vassals of Henry II, king of England. Erec was to be a British king; therefore Chrétien brought together at his coronation just those vassals who owed allegiance at that time to the king of England (Greater Britain). Let us examine the list of peoples represented, and the dates of their induction or conquest.

Normanz	1066
Bretons (of Britannia minor)	1158
Escoz	1159 and before
Irois	1155-59
Anglois	1066

¹³ *ZfrPh* 1922, fascicule iii.

¹⁴ Ed. of Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen, 1836.

Cornoaillois.....	1068
Galois.....	1093-1158
Angevins.....	1119
Mansaus.....	1119
Poitevins.....	1152

In 1175 the king of Scotland became clearly and beyond all controversy the vassal of the king of England for all Scotland and all that pertained thereto—and for Galloway as a separate state. The king of Scotland paid his homage to the young king Henry while still conserving his obedience to the father, Henry II. But in the campaign waged by Henry against Toulouse in 1159 the young king of Scotland was there as a vassal of Henry. The first submission of Scotland to the king of England dates from the time of William the Conqueror, but the details of this submission are not known.

Wales was invaded in 1093-7 by William II; in 1113 and 1120 by Henry I; and again in 1158 by Henry II. This last time Owen, prince of North Wales, became the vassal of Henry. The Norman king of England had always had pretensions in the direction of Wales—and then it must be remembered that Arthur was considered as legendary king of the Welsh.

In 1119 the Count of Anjou's daughter married the son of Henry I and the provinces of Maine and Anjou virtually passed into the possession of the king of England. In 1152 Henry II married Aliénor d'Aquitaine, and there was Poitou in his hands. John of Salisbury—near the conclusion of his *Metalogicus*, written when he had learned of the death of Hadrian (1159)—tells us that Hadrian had made an hereditary gift of Ireland to Henry II. Hadrian was elected pope in 1155 and died in 1159. This gift necessarily must have fallen between the two dates—perhaps in 1155—for Hadrian was an Englishman and knew beforehand Henry's longings for Ireland.¹⁵ In 1157 Geoffroy,

¹⁵ Li petiz rois, Guivrez, says in *Erec*:

v. 3867 Je sui de ceste terre rois
Mi home lige sont Irois,
N'i a nul ne soit mes rantiz;
Et j'ai non Guivrez li Petiz.

Gaston Paris suggests (*Rom. XX*, p. 149) that this is a relic of the Celtic origins of Britain (6th century). I am not so sure of this, though I can not offer a much

brother of Henry II, seized Nantes and made himself Count of Nantes. When he died the following year, Henry was determined to take his place. He crossed the channel and held a conference with Louis VII near Gisors, the result of which was that he obtained from his suzerain permission to take possession of Nantes. In 1159 Henry had his feet well planted in Brittany.

Using these dates as a starting point it is obviously possible to make a *terminus a quo* for the *Erec*, namely 1158-59. There is still another point which I feel supports this theory. In v. 6548 ff. we read:

Li rois li dist que tost s'atort;
Que coroné seront andui,
Il et sa fame ansamble o lui,
A la natevité qui vient;
Et dist: "Aler vos an covient
De ci qu'a Nantes an Bretaingne;
La porteroiz real ansaingne,
Corone el chief et ceptre el poing;

and further (v. 6865):

L'evesques de Nantes meïsmes,
Qui mout fu prodon et saintismes,
Fist le sacre del roi novel
Mout saintemant, et bien et bel.

Why these references to Nantes? It is the only town mentioned in the romance otherwise than indirectly in the guise of an adjective of quality. Further, why should this *sacre* be held at a continental town rather than in Guinesores, Londres, Bristot, or one of the other English towns which Chrétien mentions in *Cligès* and his other compositions? My answer is as follows: the invasion of Nantes must have been of recent date and the episode was fresh in Chrétien's memory; the more so as it was liable to have very unpleasant results for Louis VII, in spite of the fact that the latter had permitted it. I realize how hazardous it is, as a rule, to judge that a reference

better suggestion. However, it is just possible that, since Ireland was presenting a problem to the English at that time, it may have been before the eyes of our poet Chrétien and may have occurred to him when choosing more or less at random a people of whom Guivrez should be king.

must have immediately followed the event to which it refers. Yet I believe the circumstances are somewhat conclusive here. Why did this *sacre* occur in Nantes, a continental town, when Chrétien at least *knew* of a number of cities across the Channel? Why did Chrétien specify the town at all? I do not believe it would be too hardy a guess to assume that the *Erec* was written in the close proximity of 1159.

To turn to the *Yvain*, we find that it is impossible to fix upon any decisive internal data which could give us an undisputed clue to the date. There is, however, a time sequence which I think highly interesting and which may well bear discussion. The *Yvain* begins as follows (verse 1, ff.):

Artus, li buens rois de Bretaingne,
La cui proesce nos ansaingne,
Que nos soiens preu et cortois,
Tint cort si riche come rois
A cele feste, qui tant coste,
Qu'an doit clamer la pantecoste.

After dinner Sir Calogrenanz tells the story of his adventure at the fountain which we have had occasion to mention above. Yvain vows to himself that he will go avenge his comrade's shame. The king appears suddenly and the adventure is repeated to him. He in return declares that he will visit the fountain within fifteen days accompanied by all those who will care to come. He says (verse 665, ff.):

Qu'il iroit veoir la fontainne,
Ja ainz ne passeroit quinzainne,
Et la tanpeste et la mervuille,
Si que il i vandra la voille
Mon seignor saint Jehan Batiste

This declaration was made, as we have seen before, on Pentecost, which festival falls the fiftieth day after Easter. St. John the Baptist's Day is a fixed feast—June the twenty-fourth—so that the Eve is June the twenty-third. King Arthur declares that he will leave (undoubtedly as soon as he can make ready) so as to reach there within a fortnight's time—on The Eve of St. John the Baptist's Day. That is to say, this feast

is here represented as falling within *two weeks* after Pentecost. Now Easter, in the latter half of the Twelfth Century,¹⁰ occurred for the most part around the first or the eighth of April, which would cause Pentecost to precede St. John the Baptist's Day by a good four weeks. If Chrétien had here been choosing his chronology at random rather than from the current year—a natural enough procedure—would he have made Easter fall so exceptionally late? There was no necessity of using St. John the Baptist's Day as a conventional date following Pentecost. Chrétien could have said, for instance, had he so wished,

Tant que en juin jo i vendrai,

which would have dated Arthur's coming around the first of June, fifteen days after Pentecost, with Easter falling about the first of April. On the other hand what could have been more natural than that Chrétien should have taken the dates of Easter and Pentecost from the then current year? At least, if Easter were late in the current year, he would in all probability have been strongly influenced by it. We must then find the years around 1170 when Easter came very late. Here is a list of dates:

1160.....	March 27
'61.....	April 6
'62.....	April 8
'63.....	March 24
'64.....	April 12
'65.....	April 4
'66.....	<i>April 24</i>
'67.....	April 9
'68.....	March 31
'69.....	<i>April 20</i>
1170.....	April 5
'71.....	March 28
'72.....	<i>April 16</i>
'73.....	April 8

Evidently the years 1166, 1169 and 1172 are the three eligibles. The first should be eliminated as no one would be

¹⁰ This does not hold true for the first part of the 20th century. Easter falls on a date between April 16 and April 23 at least nine times between 1915 and 1939, i.e., nine times out of twenty-five.

inclined to place both the *Lancelot* and the *Yvain* in the short period between 1164 and 1166. In 1172 Easter fell on April 16th. This does not suit our time-scheme as well as April 20th. In 1169 Pentecost fell on the eighth of June. Add fifteen days and you have the twenty-third of June—the Eve of St. John the Baptist's Day. Thus 1169 would seem to be the date for which we are working.

The accuracy of this reasoning is more or less dependent upon another question which I can not treat here with any degree of fullness. Have we evidence to show that Chrétien and his contemporary romancers were accurate in their count of time in the individual romances; or did a chevalier stay a night here, two or three nights there, in a haphazard way? I have made a few investigations along this line, although I can not find the space to publish the results in full here. In the continuation of the *Perceval* of Gerbert de Montreuil I do not believe any accuracy of time exists. On the other hand, the *Meraugis de Portlesgues* of Raoul de Houdenc¹⁷ (a younger contemporary and imitator of Chrétien) is a model to the contrary.¹⁸ We know the time accurately to the month and sometimes to the day throughout the whole romance. But have we not other evidence from the *Yvain* itself that the time was accurately kept—at least from the first part? The action begins on Pentecost; the king arrives at the fountain on St. John the Baptist's Day; he stays eight days at Yvain's castle (until July 2); Laudine then gives Yvain permission to accompany Gauvain until a year from that day:

v. 2572 Pansez de revenir arriere
 A tot le mains jusqu'a un an
 Huit jorz après le saint Jehan:
 Hui an cest jor sont les huitaves.

He overstays the year of absence until the following "miaost"

¹⁷ *Sämtliche Werke*, hgg. von M. Friedwagner, Halle, 1897 (bd. I) and 1909 (bd. II).

¹⁸ In this romance the action begins at Christmas. Meraugis promises the knight Laquis de Lampagrés that he will keep to the right in his travels until the following "mardi." On "juesdi" he abandons this mode of travelling. A month after Christmas he finds himself before the "palais de caroles." He is retained there ten weeks until the beginning of April. Easter and Pentecost then follow at accurate intervals and the action closes.

(v. 2679). From then on the poet does not keep us informed so regularly on the intervals elapsed, but from what he does give we can divine that he has them constantly in mind. Yvain's madness must have lasted in the neighborhood of thirty-nine days (to judge from v. 3691, ff.). After his wounding in the combat for Lunete's life he goes to a castle and (v. 4700)

Jorz i sejorna ne sai quanz.

Nor should we forget that when the younger sister came to Arthur's court to seek a champion (v. 4740),

. . . avoit tierz jor, que la reine
Estoit de la prison venue
Ou Meleaganz l'ot tenue

This refers to the *Lancelot* and shows an almost unnecessary precision on the part of Chrétien in dealing with time.

In conclusion, I should make the following chronological table for these three of Chrétien's poems:

<i>Erec</i>	1159;
<i>Lancelot</i>	between 1164 and, 1169—probably 1166 or 1167;
<i>Yvain</i>	1169.

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THE SOURCE OF PEDRO ANTONIO DE ALARCÓN'S
EL AFRANCESADO

PEDRO ANTONIO DE ALARCÓN'S short story entitled *El Afrancesado*,¹ published in 1856, is one of those which deal with episodes of the Peninsular War.

In a small town of Galicia, so the tale runs, a druggist stood alone in refusing to join his fellow-citizens in their hate towards the French invaders, but was, outwardly at least, an *afrancesado*, making friends with the French officers quartered in the town and taking upon himself the odium and dangers which such a course implied in a period when a foreign invasion had brought about, all over Spain, an outburst of Nationalism the like of which had rarely been seen before. However, the hero of the story is far from being what he appears to be. He merely feigns to be a French sympathizer the more surely to bring about the death of as large number as possible of the invaders whom he hates fully as much as the rest of the townspeople do. To carry out his design he invites a group of officers to a carousal in the little cabinet behind his shop and there poisons them and himself by mixing a strong narcotic with the wine.

The story is told with a realism of detail which makes it all the more ferocious and quite characteristic of that war, whose memories still linger among the inhabitants of the countryside of Spain, after more than a hundred years. In Alarcón's youth there doubtless existed still more such traditions than are current to-day and at first sight the story under discussion may very well belong to such traditions and floating anecdotes as are usually disseminated after a great war. For none of the events told is unlikely in itself, and similar incidents may have happened in the Peninsular War, as they are apt to happen in any war in which a civilian population is driven to despair by an invading host. On the other hand, it is well to consider that Alarcón was not a historian but a novelist and as such did not

¹ For this study I use the *Nueva Edición, Novelas Cortas de D. Pedro Antonio de Alarcón*. Segunda Serie: *Historietas Nacionales*, Madrid, 1912, pp. 33-46.

have to see himself obliged to narrate historical facts, ascertained or ascertainable by the historical method; he may have followed the precedent of Boccaccio and other illustrious short story writers, who added to the artistic beauty of their productions by localizing them in a definite place and in a definite period, usually not far remote from the author's own time.

What puts us still more on our guard as to the historicity of the tale is the fact that an episode strikingly similar is told by an ancient writer, Appian, in his *History of the Civil Wars*. The episode in question is said to have happened in the civil war between Caesar and Pompey and to have occurred prior to the battle of Pharsalia. Appian reports it in the following words:²

It is said that among the notable calamities of Gomphi, the bodies of twenty venerable men of the first rank were found lying on the floor of an apothecary's shop, not wounded, and with goblets near them, as though they were drunk, but that one of them was seated in a chair like a physician, and had no doubt dealt out poison to them.³

We have then in this account the same situation and the same event as in the story of Alarcón, for in both an apothecary under the guise of friendship entices a number of the officers of a hostile army into his shop, makes them drunk and poisons them and himself by mixing the poison with their beverages. Even the number of the victims has remained unchanged; twenty Frenchmen of the army of Napoleon correspond to the twenty officers of Caesar's army in Appian's account. These coincidences cannot be due to chance, and there must be some connexion between the episode of the Second Civil War and the Spanish story.

Most of the ancient writers who deal with this period of Roman history mention the capture of Gomphoi by Caesar's troops.⁴ Some of them add that after the taking of the town

² Appian, *Civil Wars*, II. 10. 64. Appian's *Roman History* with an English translation by Horace White, London, 1912 ff., vol. III, p. 347.

³ Λέγεται δ' ἐν τοῖς Γόμφοις γενέσθαι παθήματα γενναῖα καὶ νεκροὺς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἡρώων ἐν ἱατρείῳ φαῖνται, κληκὼν αὐτοῖς παρακειμένων ἀνθρώποις εἰκοσὶ μὲν ὡς ἐκ μέθης κατακειμένους ἐπὶ τὸ ἔδαφος, ἓνα δ' ἐπὶ θρόνου παρακαθεζόμενον ὡς ἱατρὸν, δι τὸ φάρμακον αὐτοῖς ἄρα παρέσχε.

⁴ Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* III. 80; Livy, *Epit.* CXI. 55; Cass. Dio, XLI. 51; Plutarch, *Caes.* 54.

the soldiery indulged in all sorts of excesses and caused not a little embarrassment to Caesar's officers; but Appian stands quite alone in the mention of this episode. The source of Alarcón must then be sought either in the text of Appian or some modern derivative of it. Owing to his good education and studies at the University of Granada, Alarcón may well have had access to the Greek text itself. But there existed three sixteenth century translations of Appian's work into Spanish⁵ and besides there was the Didot edition with its Latin translation of the Greek text.⁶ Furthermore, it is by no means unlikely that the episode was taken over by the compiler of some text book used in the Spanish schools and may in this way have reached the author of *El Afrancesado*. At any rate, there can be no doubt that Appian was the direct or indirect source of our short story.

Having arrived at this juncture, we may have one more look at the two texts and compare them. The account of the historian is short, concise and somewhat dry, free from all ornamentation, free also from all comment; the Greek does not take sides in the fratricidal struggle which shook the Empire; the reader is to judge for himself. How different is Alarcón's rendering of the same facts. In his story it is the Spanish patriot who speaks; García de Paredes, the apothecary, is a sublime hero, almost a saint and the martyr of a holy cause. There is no word of sympathy for the French officers; they die the death they deserve. Furthermore, by narrating the events as they happened when the drama drew to its close, Alarcón endowed his story with far more life than can be found in the classical text, where we only hear how the bodies are found after the poison has had its deadly effect. The episode of the mob-rising was necessary to bring about this change; it was a happy invention on the part of the writer, as it makes stand out in still greater relief the solitary figure of the hero.

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⁵ *Los triunfos de Appiano*, tr. por J. de Molina, Valencia, 1522; *Historia de todas las guerras civiles* que lo escribió Appiano Alexandrino, tr. por el capitán Diego Salazar, Alcalá de Henares, 1535, and a third by Jayme Bartholomé, Barcelona, 1592.

⁶ It was published in 1840.

VOCES DEL CIELO—A NOTE ON MIRA DE AMESCUA

A CURIOUSLY characteristic factor of the dramatic formula of Mira de Amescua is a device—a sort of a *quid pro quo*—that seems best designated as *voces del cielo*. This bit of incidental dramatic technique occurs, with suitable variations, in seven of Mira's plays, but the writer has been unable to find instances of it elsewhere. It must not be confused with the much cheaper and more commonplace *eco*, which Mira himself frequently employs, and at times even incorporates with his *voces del cielo*; nor should it be mistaken for the rather closely akin *song off-stage*, of which it may well be a development, and which Mira occasionally introduced, as did Lope and others, as a foreboding of impending disaster.¹ It is a very much higher type of stage-trick, and requires considerable ingenuity for its elaboration—just the unusual sort of thing that Mira loved to inject. The varied recurrence of his *voces del cielo* helps to explain his reputation, among his contemporaries, for originality. Most interesting is the quite extraordinary moral note, and this is what should be borne most deeply in mind, as being, I have come to believe, highly characteristic of the theologian Mira de Amescua at his best, altho the play in which the *voces del cielo* are found worked out with the greatest care, *Las Lises de Francia*, is mediocre enough. The point that I wish most to emphasize is the underlying moral tendency.

The *voces del cielo* consist in turning into a mysterious warning, for the protagonist, words or phrases casually uttered by persons quite innocent of their dramatic significance. When the *voces* come to a character that has done wrong, they may be taken almost as the admonitions of conscience, and the device becomes psychologically very interesting. Upon hearing a voice of which no physical explanation is evident, characters are prompted by a consciousness of their guilt to amend their

¹ Pippa's songs in Browning's *Pippa Passes* offer the closest analogy to the *voces del cielo* that I have been able to find anywhere.

conduct. The words of the person off-stage are by no means directed to the character that hears them, but in each case they so aptly fit in with his thoughts that they are inevitably taken as something of a divine message. Often the unimportance of the words *per se* is emphasized by the fact that they proceed from minor characters. Sometimes the underlying dramatic significance of the scene is brought out by repeating tail-ends of previous speeches or words, especially in the dictation of a letter, the use of this verbal echo sometimes degenerating into a very cheap trick indeed. The protagonist may be aware of the "voice from heaven," or it may be only the public that is conscious of it, in which case the dramatic effect is, of course, very much more intensely felt. An upright man may perform a noble action that nevertheless brings about his downfall, and the mysterious presage of the evil that is to befall him (never in this case understood) aids admirably to impress upon the audience the inexplicable ways of God, who thus deliberately afflicts his own,—the inscrutability of God's motives being a point that Mira is very fond of bringing out.

In the third act of Mira's *La Confusión de Ungria*,² Vertilo, the villain of the play, mistakes the window of a prison for that of a lady. He mounts and has his servant below remove the ladder, only to realize, after the servant has left, that he has brought upon himself a just punishment for his wickedness. Three stable boys and an old man stop to gamble a bit under the prison window, and their exclamations as they play their game of *parar* become unconsciously a running commentary upon Vertilo's thoughts as he soliloquizes at his post above them. The passage is as follows:

Vertilo.	No vi esperanza jamás que al alma me dé sosiego: es juego de por demás. Mas ¡ay!, que al fin . . .
Viejo.	Perderás, si dura mucho este juego.

² *Parte treinta y cinco. Comedias nuevas, escritas por los mejores ingenios de España . . .* Madrid, 1671. This play is now generally conceded to be Mira's. In view of the fact that the *voces del cielo* seem to be distinctly peculiar to him, their occurrence in this work may, to some extent, be taken as internal evidence confirming his authorship.

- Vertilo. Si este juego mucho dura,
perderé.
- Viejo. Tu dicha es éssa.
- Vertilo. No ay esperanza segura
donde tengo el alma . . .
- Mozo 2°. ¡Presa!
- Vertilo. Presa en esta prisión dura.
De aquí resulta la muerte;
ya no ay vida.
- Mozo 2°. ¡Mala suerte!
- Vertilo. Mala suerte fué la mía.
¿Quándo, princesa de Ungría,
mis ojos pudieran verte?
Si de ti naze este daño,
y amor me fuerza a su ley,
¿quién ha echo el desengaño?
¿Quién me tiene preso?
- Mozo 3°. ¡El rey!
- Vertilo. El rey, que sabía mi engaño.
Para, fortuna, tu rueda,
pues el mal que siempre dió
paró en ella.
- Mozo 1°. ¡No paró!
- Vertilo. ¿No paró? ¿Qué más mal queda?
.
Al fin he vuelto a mi centro;
ninguna disculpa hallo.
Mas si salgo de aquí dentro,
para huir, ¿que me falta?
- Mozo 2°. ¡El caballo! *
- Vertilo. ¿Si encuentro al rey?
- Mozo 3°. ¡Mal encuentro!
- Mozo 1°. No vale, que no se puso.
- Mozo 2°. Sí valen, que sí han valido.
- Mozo 1°. Valer encuentros no ay uso.
- Vertilo. Allá baxo ay gran ruido;
aora estoy más confuso.

Vertilo, at the end of this scene, discovers the human agents that have served as a voice from heaven to bring to him a consciousness of his hopeless situation, his thoughts being literally prompted by cues from the players. He nevertheless does not become aware of the fact that his train of thought has been suggested by their casual remarks. He seems at last to have heard the noise of their talk, but has not caught their words, so that the *voces del cielo* are here much more subtle in

* Verse lacking.

* Verse is long.

their implied power of mysterious suggestion than in the plays where the protagonist actually hears and understands the voices. It is due to the fact that Vertilo remains quite unconscious of any physical influence that he finally repents, realizing his guilt and the justness of his own punishment.

At the beginning of the second *jornada* of Mira's *Las Lises de Francia*,⁵ we have a second instance of the *voces del cielo* as an instrument for inspiring repentance in wrongdoers. Altho the three characters successively affected actually hear the voice, they do not realize its source, and, fearfully conscience-stricken (as was likewise Vertilo in *La Confusión de Ungria*), they assume that it is literally a *voz del cielo*. They accordingly are led to make such amends for the wrong done as is now possible. The loving attentions of Clodomira have become loathsome to Teodato, who even by cruelty and threats of violent death has been unable to shake her affection for him. He finally ties her in a bramble thicket and abandons her. Teodato loves Amalasunta. She has shot him and believes she has killed him. In her jealous love for the king, Clodobeo, she has so slandered Crotilda, his bride elect, that he has repudiated the latter. Clodomira, lamenting her lot, calls out in her soliloquy the name of her rival, Amalasunta, who, happening just then to be passing the thicket where Clodomira is concealed, stops, upon hearing her name called. She believes that a divine voice—coming from the ghost of Teodato—is reproving her both for her shooting of Teodato and for her treacherous wronging of Crotilda; and we have the following *quid pro quo*:

Clodomira.	¡Amalasunta cruel!
Amalasunta.	¿Quién me puede aquí llamar? En todo aquesto no ay gente, ni rumor ninguno suena sino el agua de una fuente.
Clodomira.	¿Por qué has dado tanta pena a un alma tan inocente?
Amalasunta.	¡Válame Dios! ¿Pena he dado?
	¿Quién me puede aver llamado?
Clodomira.	¡Teodato!

⁵ Parte quarenta y quatro de Comedias nuevas, nunca impressas, escogidas . . .
Roque Rico de Miranda, Madrid, 1687, pp. 413-454.

- Amalasunta. ¡Ay de mí!
 Como la muerte le di,
 sin duda me anda buscando.
- Clodomira. Pues no me quisiste, advierte
 que vas aora encontrando
 a quien te ha de dar la muerte.
- Amalasunta. Ya me va pronosticando
 mal suceso. ¡O caso fuerte!
 Atribulada me veo;
 sólo busco a Clodobeo,
 y él la muerte me ha de dar.
 ¿Qué he de hazer sino dexar
 de correr tras mi deseo?
- Clodomira. El pago que tú me diste,
 sólo porque te adorava,
 te dará muy presto.
- Amalasunta. ¡Ay, triste!
- Clodomira. Tu breve vida se acaba,
 por lo mal que me quisiste.
- Amalasunta. Fingir no quiero embaxada,
 ni verme con él casada;
 mas ¡ay, que me abrasa el pecho!
- Clodomira. Considera el mal que has hecho
 a una muger tan honrada.
- Amalasunta. Bien dize; que hize mal
 a Crotilda en dezir della
 que era incasta y desleal;
 mas yo volveré por ella;
 no permita el cielo tal.
 Y si Teodato viviera,
 sólo mi marido fuera,
 por esos cielos que adora;
 pero ya tarde se llora,
 que remedio no se espera.

Amalasunta has scarcely passed on her now repentant way when Leoncio and his servant appear. Leoncio, sent to escort the bride elect, Crotilda, has on the way back become enamoured of her, and has treacherously attempted to seduce her. Clodomira, still addressing in her soliloquy the false Teodato, causes Leoncio, also, to feel a divine reproof for the wrong done:

- Clodomira. ¿Hasta cuándo
 ha de vivir tu trayción?
 reprime tanta pasión;
 mira que tu honra padece.
- Leoncio. ¿Quién habló?
- Criado. Nadie parece.
- Leoncio. *Voces de los cielos son.*

- Clodomira. Falso traydor, ¿dónde vas?
Buelve ya.
- Leoncio. ¡O cielo bendito,
sin duda voces me das!
¿Qué avrá en aqueste distrito?
- Criado. Zarças y árboles, no más.
- Clodomira. ¿Quién me podía dar favor
en aflicción tan estraña?
- Leoncio. Tras sí me lleva el amor,
y oy me avisa que me engaña,
dando voces el temor.
¿Qué me podrá suceder
por gozar una muger?
- Clodomira. Teme del cielo el castigo.
- Leoncio. Algún espíritu amigo,
u el miedo deve de ser.
- Clodomira. De tu mucha sinrazón,
humilde, pide perdón
de la muger que engañaste.
- Leoncio. Ya estoy advertido; baste.
Consejos del cielo son.
- Clodomira. De tu culpa te arrepiente,
que ya a los cielos espanta;
el remedio está presente.
- Leoncio. Yo quiero hablar a la infanta,
pues aora está sin gente.
Vamos a la casería,
y allí de la culpa mía
pediré que no se ofenda;
antes, que en Francia se entienda
mi engaño y alevosía. *Vase.*
- Clodomira. ¡Que el cielo santo consiente
en carças una muger,
como si fuera serpiente!
aunque no lo puede ser
quien fué tan poco prudente.

King Clodobeo passes, pursuing the wounded animal that has escaped him, and Clodomira continues to apostrophize the ungrateful Teodato, the King taking her words as an allusion to his own groundless repudiation of Crotilda.

- Clodomira. ¿Quién cegó tu pensamiento?
¿Qué ha sido, dime, tu intento
en dexar una muger
de tan casto proceder
por quien busca tu tormento?
- Clodobeo. ¿Quién habló en esta espesura
y pregunta a mis intentos,
do no parece criatura?

- Clodomira. Corregir tus penasmientos;
que la mudança es locura.
Advierte que eres mortal,
y que el cielo grande mal
para castigarte junta.
No quieras a Amalasunta
y olvides la más leal.
- Clodobeo. O cielo, tú me aconsejas
lo que me conviene aora.
- Clodomira. ¿Quién te engaña? ¿Por qué dexas
una muger que te adora,
dando al cielo justas quexas?
- Clodobeo. Porque a Crotilda dexé
me riñe el cielo.
- Clodomira. ¿Por qué
tu propósito se muda?
- Clodobeo. Conmigo habla sin duda.
Válame Dios, ¿qué haré?
Si a un moçuelo se entregó,
¿cómo, cielo, me la ofreces?
¿Es bien que me case yo?
- Clodomira. Casta es la que aborreces;
nunca nadie la gozó.
- Clodobeo. Ya el cielo me desengaña;
mas también es cosa estraña
que un hombre dixesse tal.
- Clodomira. Si alguno te ha dicho mal,
mira, señor, que te engaña.
- Clodobeo. Oy el Señor soberano
desengañarme ha querido;
mintió el moçuelo inhumano.

*El Pleito que tuvo el diablo con el cura de Madrilejos*⁶ contains an instance of *voces del cielo* that is again something of a divine prompting of conscience. Catalina, possessed of a demon, decides in a moment of despondency to commit suicide by casting herself over a high cliff, but, just as she is about to do so, she is stayed from her unholy purpose by a seemingly supernatural voice:

- Dentro, Marina. ¡Tente, tente!
Mira, que te despeñas.
- Catalina. ¿Qué voz, articulada de las peñas,
para mi asombro nace?

⁶ *Flor de las mejores Doce Comedias de los mayores Ingenios de España* Madrid, 1652. "La Jornada primera de Luis Veles de Guevara. La segunda de Don Francisco de Roxas. Y la tercera del Doctor Mirademesqua." (Bib. Nac., R, 18040.)

Marina. Verán lo que el demonio hace.
 Catalina. ¡Ay, misera infelice!
 ¿Si alcanzo a ver por quién la voz lo dice?
 Marina. ¡Jo, burra!
 Catalina. ¿Con quién habló?
 Marina. Creo que tienes en el cuerpo el diablo.
 Catalina. ¡O necia fantasía,
 vana ilusión de la desdicha mía!
 ¡Que a tal extremo llegues!

.

Marina. Descender a lo llano determino.
 Aora sí que va por buen camino,
 y yo podré descuidada
 echar por esta senda mi tonada.

The voice proves to be a very human instrument—the wench Marina, scolding a burro off-stage. This episode occurs at the beginning of the second act, the portion of the play generally believed to be that composed by Rojas; but this dramatic device is so characteristic of Mira that I am inclined to consider it, if not an interpolation from his pen, at least his suggestion.

In *El Esclavo del demonio*⁷ we have a variation of the device that here may more properly be termed *voces del infierno*. The monk don Gil, after dissuading don Diego from his evil purpose of mounting to Lisarda's chamber to ravish her, himself yields to the temptation and ascends. He enters her room. Meanwhile don Diego's servant, the *gracioso* Domingo, to avoid suspicion removes the ladder (as was done in *La Confusión de Ungria*), and, being heavy with wine, lies down to sleep until his master, whom he supposes above, shall care to descend. Don Gil, fearing to jeopardize his good name, wavers a moment and is about to abandon his wicked purpose when the disconnected words uttered by the sensual Domingo in his drunken sleep below encourage him to proceed. As in the *voces del cielo* proper, the protagonist does not realize the human source of the advice that reaches his ears, and the same psychological reaction ensues. Don Gil believes that it is the devil himself that thus incites him. Indeed, just as in *Las Lises de Francia* and *La Confusión de Ungria* we may consider the *voces del cielo* as a prompting of conscience to good, so here these *voces del infierno*

⁷ ll. 581-616 *Comedia famosa del Esclavo del demonio compuesta por el doctor Mira de Mesqua* (Barcelona, 1612), ed., with intro. and notes, by Milton A. Buchanan. Baltimore, 1905.

may well be taken as a dramatic representation of the instinctive desire to sin. There is in both cases the suggestion of a thought process, and a decidedly psychological element. The following passage occurs in the first act:

- D. Gil.
 estos intentos me infamam,
 y el crédito yré perdiendo;
 con el mundo yrme pretendo
 y conservar mi opinión;
 sabe el cielo mi intención,
 que ya por Dios no deciendo.
 Mas la escala no está aquí.
 (*Habla entre sueños Domingo.*)
- Domingo. No baxes sin que la gozes.
 D. Gil. ¿Quién me anima y me da bozes?
 temiendo estoy, ¡ay de mí!
 baxar por donde subí
 no es possible.
- Domingo. Espera, espera.
 D. Gil. Baxar no puedo aunque quiera;
 ¿si me vió alguno subir?
- Domingo. ¡Justicia de Dios!
 D. Gil. Huyr
 no la podré.
- Domingo. ¡Muera, muera!
 D. Gil. La justicia de Dios es
 que me viene a amenazar.
- Domingo. No la dexes de gozar;
 yo te ayudaré después.
- D. Gil. Ya me anima; ¿cómo pues,
 si estoy hablando entre mí,
 responderme puede así
 a lo que yo a solas hablo?
- Domingo. ¿Quién a de ser sino el diablo?
 D. Gil. ¿Si estoy condenado?
- Domingo. Sí.
 D. Gil. Luego, si estoy condenado,
 vana fué mi penitencia,
 y a venido la sentencia.
- Domingo. Vino, vino.
 D. Gil. ¿Ya a llegado?
- Domingo. Beue y come.
 D. Gil. Si e ayunado
 embalde ya comeré.
- Domingo. Brindis.
 D. Gil. La razón faré,
 pues que la carne me brinda.
- Domingo. Goza la ocasión, que es linda.
 D. Gil. Esta y otras gozaré.

Worthy of note is the use of *quintillas*, not only in the above passage, but also in those cited from *Las Lises de Francia* and *La Confusión de Ungria*.

In the third act of Mira's *El Arpa de David*,⁸ the words of two servants quarreling off-stage come upon Urías—who cannot account for them—as a warning from heaven of his impending fate if he continues to follow the course he has in mind, namely, that of enduring all the hardships of the soldier's life as long as the Lord's army is in the field. Finally learning that this unconsciously uttered prediction of his dishonor and death comes from a human source, Urías does not heed the prognostic, sleeps in the open instead of going home to Bersabé, and meets his death as a result of David's fear that there may be born to Bersabé a child of which it may not now be claimed that Urías himself is the father. Here, as in still two other instances, the coming of the voices simply as a warning of impending disaster to a character who has done no wrong, is purely an incidental episode instead of the motivating element that they become elsewhere. Mira, in each case, takes particular pains, however, to make it perfectly evident that the unmerited misfortune thus foretold (and so absolutely devoid of all poetic justice) is merely the working of God's inexplicable will, the *voces* themselves serving to hint of the divine source of the affliction, and to point more clearly the moral. In these last three instances, the *voces del cielo* seem to be technically in the intermediate stage between the probable origin of the device, the off-stage song, and its more perfect development in the first instances cited,—altho this theory is made quite untenable by the chronology of the plays in question in so far as their dates are known. In *El Arpa de David*, as in *Las Lises de Francia*, we have a variation of Lope's prescription *engañar con la verdad*.

The employment of *voces del cielo* is so characteristically peculiar to Mira de Amescua that I have felt, altho I have scarcely mentioned this point, that their occurrence in *La adversa fortuna de don Bernardo de Cabrera*⁹ decidedly confirms, as

⁸ Vv. 2821-2872. I shall presently publish my critical edition of this play based on the Biblioteca Nacional MS. 15516 (Paz y Melia 254). There is evidence to indicate a date of composition before 1614, and, I think, after 1610.

⁹ I have attempted to reclaim this play, and others, for Mira in my study *Lisardo, Mira de Amescua's Pseudonym*, presently to be published in the Studies of Ohio State University. The date of the play may be fixed between 1628 and 1634.

internal evidence (cf. note 2), my other proofs that this splendid play is Mira's, and not Lope's. In this instance, we have the employment of tail-ends of words or phrases which, repeated as echoes of what has just been dictated, serve as a foreboding of disaster that is to come as a result of the letter being written. The characters themselves are quite unconscious of the warning significance of these echoes, which, in fact, are employed only for the dramatic effect on the public. As he dictates the letter, Don Bernardo stops to soliloquize, putting to himself certain questions that are ominously answered by the secretary, who, quite unaware of its dramatic importance, repeats from the matter dictated a word or syllable to indicate that he has now caught up in his writing. The motive in writing the letter is a noble attempt to do good in a difficult situation, so that of course the protagonist cannot here be made aware of the *voces del cielo*, as he might have been had the author been able to employ them as indicative of the effective workings of conscience in turning a character from or making him repentant of a wicked action. The very naturalness of these warning words makes them pass unnoticed.

The passage under discussion occurs in the second act.¹⁰ Ricardo is the messenger of the infante Don Carlos, who seeks to win Don Bernardo to his side. Don Bernardo has determined to write D. Carlos, hoping to deter him from his traitorous purpose. The king enters just in time to overhear the concluding lines of the letter, and on this circumstantial evidence believes D. Bernardo guilty of treacherous conduct toward him—a misunderstanding that ultimately results in the favorite's death.

Sale Feliciano.

Feliciano.	¿Señor?	
D. Bernardo.		Trae recado. ¹¹
		de escribir.
Feliciano.		Aquí está.
Ricardo.		Escribe.

¹⁰ Pp. 80b-81a in *Obras de Lope de Vega, Nueva ed. Acad.*, III, in which Cotarelo has included this play as Lope's.

¹¹ As Sr. Cotarelo has noted, here and elsewhere the passage is corrupted. The extent of this corruption may at once be seen upon reading this letter as it appears in its complete form toward the end of the play, p. 98, *op. cit.*

- D. Bernardo. Dejaréle satisfecho
que un zafiro está en mi pecho,
y en él fe y lealtad vive.
Va escribiendo lo de las rayas.
"De que me escribas así . . ."
Hago mal en responder;
el alma empieza a temer.
¿Me vendrá mal desto?
- Feliciano. *Sí.*
D. Bernardo. "Tan corrido, Infante, estoy . . ."
¿Qué respondo? Mas ¿por qué
ha de enojarse?
- Feliciano. *Hoy.¹²*
D. Bernardo. Responderle no es traición;
antes, es justo, y así
¿a quién culparán?
- Feliciano. *A tí.*
D. Bernardo. ¡Qué triste fin de razón!
"¿Soy algún bruto animal . . . ?"
Corazón, ¿dudas? Detén:
por aconsejarle bien,
¿qué me puede venir?
- Feliciano. *Mal.*
D. Bernardo. "¿Que no he de estimar la vida . . . ?
Temor de mí no se aparta;
mas responder a una carta
¿qué me a de costar?
- Feliciano. *La vida.*
D. Bernardo. "Si sabes que bien reinó . . ."
Sudor helado me corre;
mejor será que se borre.
¿Si saldré bien desto?
- Feliciano. *No.*
D. Bernardo. "El rey, bien es que repares
en tenerle amor y fe, *Sale el rey.*
y así yo te serviré
en todo cuanto mandares.
Hazlo, Infante, desta suerte,
y a fe que te valga mucho."
- Rey. ¡Válgame el cielo! ¿Qué es esto?
Aquí se trata mi muerte. Etc.¹³

Extremely interesting from a technical point of view is a similar letter, written under analogous circumstances and with

¹² An entire verse and part of another are lacking here. They included the part of the dictated letter that gives, 3 lines below, the echo *a tí*.

¹³ I have departed somewhat from Sr. Cotarelo's punctuation, and consequently his interpretation, of this passage.

analogous results, in *No hay dicha ni desdicha hasta la muerte*.¹⁴ I have elsewhere¹⁵ shown that Mira made over a great deal of the material of this play into *La Prospera* and *La Adversa Fortuna de D. Bernardo de Cabrera*. In *No hay Dicha* the dramatic possibilities of *ecos as voces del cielo* are scarcely realized; in the later *Adversa Fortuna de D. Bernardo* Mira works this dramatic device up into a fairly telling episode. The marked superiority in general craftsmanship of the latter play over the former is, in fact, admirably illustrated by the difference in the employment of this stage trick. In *No hay Dicha* so little is made of it that it is almost passed over unnoticed. There is a faint hint that the letter will cause the king to believe that his wife and Porcelos love each other and that he himself is to become jealous, but the foreboding of the misfortune that is to come is very weakly brought out. The echoes are here used in such away as to indicate that they really form a part of the thoughts and feelings of the listening king. The good queen, believing that Doña Leonor should for her honor check the amorous attentions of Porcelos, compels her to write him the letter she dictates. The king, overhearing, gradually becomes convinced, by the circumstantial evidence, that the queen and Porcelos love each other, and his jealousy finds expression in Porcelos' death. The passage in question follows:

Doña Leonor.	¿Haslo ya pensado?	
Reina.		Sí.
Rey.	Al rey su padre responde.	
Reina.	"Conde Porcelos . . ."	
Rey.		Al conde
	escribe la reina; ¿si	
	algo le querrá mandar?	
Doña Leonor.	<i>Por-celos.</i>	
	"Si te he estimado . . ."	
Rey.	Discretamente le ha honrado;	
	ella me querrá imitar.	
Doña Leonor.	<i>Amado.</i>	
	
Reina.	Este papel no va bueno;	
	otra toma.	
	
	"Conde Don Diego Porcelos . . ."	

¹⁴ Bib. Aut. Esp., XLV, p. 46 a & b. "Autógrafa y firmada en Madrid a 20 de Julio de 1628," says Paz y Melia (2328).

¹⁵ *Lisardo—Mira de Amescua's Pseudonym.*

- Rey. Dejarla quiero . . . Mas no,
que quizá es cosa que yo
a su instancia he de hacer.
- Dofia Leonor. Celos.
Reina. "No niego que te he estimado,
y que favores te di . . ."
- Rey. ¡Dios me valga. ¿Estoy en mí?
¡O necio desconfiado. Etc.

It will at once be noted that in both *La Adversa Fortuna de D. Bernardo* and *No hay Dicha* the repetition as echoes of final syllables of words spoken a few (often 3) lines before occurs in a way quite different from the usual so-called echo consonance that is frequently found elsewhere. It is perhaps confusing to employ the term echo at all, for the device employed in these two plays last cited is not that described by Rengifo¹⁶ as an *eco*, and generally referred to as such. In them we have in fact not so much a rhyme device as a trick of plot. In the *eco* proper the *reflejas* follow with some definite scheme immediately after the word echoed,¹⁷ and in this purely mechanical and infinitely less artistic way Mira himself employs it in *El Arpa de David* (2419-2430), in act I of *Las Lises de Francia*, and at the end of act I of *Ero y Leandro*.¹⁸ In *Galán, Valiente y Discreto*,¹⁹ he ridicules the extremes of bad taste to which the *eco* was often carried.

The essential difference between these *eco* passages and the *voces del cielo* proper will at once be apparent. Further examples may readily be found in other dramatists of the day, and Mira himself employs them elsewhere; but I have as yet been able to find no instance, outside of Mira de Amescua's plays, in which *voces del cielo*, or *voces del infierno*, such as I have described them, with or without the verbal echo, occur as a dramatic device either to forebode the destined misfortune of a good man, or to prick the conscience of, or to encourage, an evil doer. I should welcome information of such an occurrence.

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¹⁶ Ivan Diaz Rengifo, *Arte Poética Española*, etc., Chaps. XCIII-V, pp. 141-5, ed. María Martí, Barcelona, 1727.

¹⁷ See, for example, Lope's *La Fianza satisfecha*, Acad. ed. III, p. 383a.

¹⁸ MS., Bib. Nac., Madrid. MS. S15264 (Paz y Melia, no. 1496).

¹⁹ Bib. Aut. Esp., XLV, p. 35c.

THE QUADERNO DE REFRANES CASTELLANOS OF JUAN DE VALDÉS

WITH but two possible exceptions, the most important collections of Spanish *refranes* appeared in the course of the first seventy years of the sixteenth century.¹ The early collectors did nothing more than compile, and sometimes gloss, the existing paremiological literature. In form the compilations varied from a simple list alphabetically arranged to an ingenious fabric resulting in a unified didactic theme. Subsequent investigations brought about quantitative improvements, but advanced very little the systematic study of the *refranes* already in accessible form, leaving to more recent research the task of classification on the basis of language or philosophy. The next step should ascertain the relation that the various collections bear to each other chronologically, as well as their literary application. Only a faint beginning has been made thus far.²

Aside from its importance as one of the earliest extant records of frank literary criticism in Spain, the *Diálogo de la lengua*³

¹ *Refranes que dizen las viejas tras el fuego*, Sevilla, 1508.—*Refranes famosísimos y provechosos glosados*, Burgos, 1509.—Blasco de Garay, *Cartas en refranes*, first edition, Toledo, 1541.—Pedro Vallés, *Libro de refranes*, Çaragoça, 1549.—Hernán Núñez de Guzmán, *Refranes o proverbios en romance*, Salamanca, 1555.—Juan de Malara, *La philosophia vulgar*, Sevilla, 1568.

Melchor García, agreeing with Cotarelo, establishes a "paremiological triumvirate" consisting of Vallés, Núñez and Malara. The place assigned to Malara rightly belongs to Garay, whom Melchor García excludes for apparently no more valid reason than that the edition of the *Cartas* in his possession bears the late date of Madrid, 1598 (cf. Melchor García Moreno, *Catálogo paremiológico*, Madrid, 1918, pp. 183, no. 332; and 53, no. 112).—A more detailed bibliographical discussion of *refranes* appears elsewhere in this study.

² Cf. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Refranes glosados de Sebastián Horosco*, Bol. Ac. Esp., 1915-1917. Unfortunately Cotarelo brings the reprinting of the Horosco collection only as far as the letter D, promising, however, that the Academy will republish it in its entirety.

³ Juan de Valdés, *Diálogo de la lengua*, in Eduard Boehmer's *Romanische Studien*, Bonn, 1895, vol. 6, pp. 339-420. The *Diálogo* was probably composed between 1534 and 1536, and was printed for the first time, without the name of the author, in 1737, in Gregorio Mayáns e Siscár's *Orígenes de la lengua española*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1737. Boehmer's text was reprinted with an introduction by J. Moreno Villa, Madrid, 1919 (Biblioteca Calleja). For the dispute over the authorship of the *Diálogo* cf. P. Miguélez, *Sobre el verdadero autor del Diálogo de la Lengua, según el códice escorialense*, Madrid, 1918; also, Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Una opinión nueva acerca del autor del Diálogo de la Lengua*, Bol. Ac. Esp., vol. 5, 1918, and *Cuestión literaria—¿Quién fué el autor del Diálogo de la Lengua?*, op. cit., vols. 6 and 7, 1919-1920.

contains a unique commentary on the linguistic value of the *refrán*. Defining it as a popular creation that reflects unobstructedly the purity of Spanish speech, Valdés regards the *refrán* as a wholly reliable standard of correct usage, affording excellent material for phonological and morphological study. If the Marqués de Santillana be that Íñigo López de Mendoza who compiled the collection of *Refranes que dizen las viejas tras el fuego*, he was perhaps the first author to suggest the humble origin of the *refrán* in the qualifying phrase "que dizen las viejas tras el fuego."⁴ In the *Crónica General*, in the *Libro de buen amor*, in *La Celestina*, in Baena's *Cancionero* and in other old texts *refranes* appear occasionally; yet no one had preceded Valdés in the specific critical use he made of them. For it must not be supposed that Valdés accepted unconditionally the dictum of the "viejas tras el fuego"; his was the attitude of the critic. "No sé que se le antojó"—to quote but one of many instances of his disapproval—"al que compuso el refran que dize Castigame mi madre, y yo tromposelas, y digo que no sé que se le antojó, porque no sé que quiso dezir con aquel mal vocablo tromposelas."⁵

While not altogether impossible, it is highly improbable that Valdés quoted the *refranes* from memory. On the contrary, one may even assume that he had them before him either in printed form or in a personally compiled list. While rather plausible, the available evidence in support of the first assumption is insufficient and, hence, not convincing; but it deserves some attention nevertheless. The fact that Valdés' version is generally so nearly identical with that found in subsequently published collections strongly suggests the probable use of the same existing material, which he could have found available in

⁴ In his introduction to the reprint of a 15th (?) century edition of these *Refranes*, Mr. Cronan maintains that the Marqués de Santillana was not the author of this collection. (Cf. Urban Cronan, *Refranes que dizen las viejas tras el fuego*, *Revue hispanique*, vol. xxv, pp. 134-219.) He adduces, however, only indirect evidence in support of his contention, to wit: (1) the errors committed by some bibliographers in citing three editions of the *Refranes* that do not exist (Toledo, 1537; Medina del Campo, 1550; Valladolid, 1512); (2) Íñigo López de Mendoza's aristocratic birth, instinct and environment that could not have aroused his interest in *refranes*—"the most popular form of literature"; and (3) Nicolas Antonio's failure to mention the *Refranes* in the articles which he devotes to the Marqués. Until more direct and positive proof to the contrary is discovered, it seems at least advisable to refer to the *Refranes* as "attributed" to Santillana.

⁵ *Didlogo*, p. 390.

two works. In the first place, his almost negligible departure from the wording of Santillana—an occasional change may have been necessary to illustrate the particular principle under discussion—would seem to identify as a possible partial source the *Refranes* of the Marqués, a collection that must have been known to some extent at the time of the *Diálogo*. It is not merely pure coincidence that both Valdés and Santillana attribute the authorship of the *refrán* to “viejas tras el fuego,”⁶ even though the *Diálogo* reveals nowhere a more specific reference than that.⁷ In the second place, there can be absolutely no doubt that Valdés was acquainted with at least one printed collection of fairly certain identity. In answer to the question whether there is a printed book of “proverbios” or “adajios,” he replied: “No de todos, pero siendo muchacho, me acuerdo aver visto uno de algunos, mal glosados.”⁸ The reference is clearly to *Refranes famosísimos y provechosos glosados*.⁹ The second assumption rests on a firmer and more definite basis. No statement in the text excludes the possibility that Valdés was actually making use of his own “Quaderno de refranes castellanos” which, we learn from Marcio, one of the interlocutors, he had collected among his friends in Rome.¹⁰ In fact, on one occasion the author refers to them specifically as “mis refranes.”¹¹ Elsewhere he states that he could quote 300 *refranes* to prove how literally most Spanish words are derived from the Latin.¹² We suspect that the “quaderno”

⁶ *Id.*, p. 344.

⁷ Boehmer ventures to blame Valdés' poor memory for this omission. Cf. *Romanische Studien*, vol. 6, p. 493.

⁸ *Diálogo*, p. 344.

⁹ In describing his edition of Burgos, 1509, Melchor García makes the following statement: “Su extremada rareza no es debida únicamente a la selección de sus refranes castellanos, sino a que, seguramente, fué esta obra anónima la primera que se imprimió con la glosa, puesto que sólo vieron la luz pública, un año antes y sin comentario alguno, los *Refranes* del Marqués de Santillana, Sevilla, 1508” (cf. *Catálogo paleomológico*, p. 134, no. 246). Valdés could not have known Santillana's *Refranes* with glosses, since that edition did not appear until 1541, in Valladolid. Salvá describes it in part as follows: *Los Refranes que recopiló yñigo Lopez de Mendoza por mandado del rey Don Jan agora nuevamente glosados. En este. Año de mil & d. & xl. j.* He adds: “Esta rarísima edición debe ser la primera y única que contiene la glosa, puesto que las tres anteriores de que hablaré después carecen de ella” (cf. Pedro Salvá y Mallén, *Catálogo de la biblioteca de Saló, Valencia*, 1872, vol. ii, pp. 217-218, no. 2099). For the relation of the *Refranes Glosados* to the Dfmas collection, cf. note 16 below.

¹⁰ *Diálogo*, p. 344.

¹¹ *Id.*, p. 400.

¹² *Id.*, p. 417. Boehmer concludes from this statement that the “quaderno” must have contained exactly 300 *refranes*. He makes the following rather arbitrary

was a more serious enterprise than its name might imply,¹⁴ especially in the light of the following statement by Pacheco (or Torres), another interlocutor: "Yo os prometo, si no fuesse cosa contraria a mi profession, que me avria, algunos dias ha, determinadamente puesto en hazer un libro en la lengua castellana como uno que diz que Erasmo ha hecho en la latina, alegando todos los refranes que hallasse y declarándolos lo menos mal que supiesse, porque he pensado que en ello haria un señalado servicio a la lengua castellana."¹⁵

Valuable as may be the *Libro de buen amor*, the *Celestina* and other early texts to a study of early sixteenth century *refranes*, we must regard them as of only secondary importance. Among the indispensable direct sources, two pretentious collections contest the privilege of primogeniture: *Refranes que disen las viejas tras el fuego*—presumably belonging to the Marqués de Santillana¹⁶—and *Refranes famosísimos y provechosos glosados*, anonymous.¹⁶ Toward the middle of the century appeared

computation: of the 16 pages making up the "quaderno," the title consumed the first, while the remaining 15 contained 20 *refranes* each. Cf. *Romanische Studien*, vol. 6, p. 494.

¹⁴ The Conde de la Viñaza actually lists it as an independent collection of *refranes* (in his *Biblioteca*, p. 1919, no. 1435.—See note 22 below).

¹⁵ *Diálogo*, p. 344.

¹⁶ Full title: "Íñigo lopez de mendoza a ruego del rey don Juan ordeno estos refranes que disen las viejas tras el fuego e van ordenados por el orden del a.b.c."—The earliest undisputed edition of the collection in question seems to be that of Sevilla, 1508, preceded perhaps by one published in the fifteenth century. It is this possibly earlier edition that Urban Cronan reprinted in the *Revue hispanique* (cf. note 4). The other editions of the *Refranes*, since they all appeared after the composition of the *Diálogo*, do not concern us directly at this point. For a more complete discussion of editions in general, cf. Salvá's *Catálogo de la biblioteca de Salas* and Melchor García's *Catálogo paremiológico*.

¹⁶ Published perhaps for the first time in Burgos, c. 1490 (cf. Conrado Haebler, *Bibliografía ibérica del siglo XV*, vol. ii, Leipzig, 1917). Melchor García owns an edition of Burgos, 1509 (no. 246).—M. G. Duplessis reproduced as an appendix to his *Bibliographie paremiologique* (Paris, 1847) an edition published in Burgos in 1515. Henry Thomas (in *British Museum—Spanish Books before 1601*, London, 1921) cites a *Refranes glosados*, Burgos, 1524, as does also Salvá who describes it (no. 2136) as being the same as *Refranes famosísimos y provechosos glosados*.—José María Sbarbi (in *El refranero general español*, vol. vii, Madrid, 1877) reprinted a 1541 edition, adding that Nicolás Antonio in his *Bibliotheca Nova* mentions a certain Dímás Capellán as the author of *Refranes glosados*, Toledo, 1510 (*op. cit.*, Prólogo, p. v).—Boehmer proves conclusively that the 1541 edition of the *Refranes glosados* is the same as the collection by Dímás Capellán, of which the Hof- und Staatsbibliothek of München possesses a copy dated Valencia, 1523. Its title reads: "Refranes en prosa glosados por el reuerendo mossen dimas clérigo" (cf. *Romanische Studien*, vol. 6, p. 492). Since all those *refranes* of the *Diálogo* that are found in the *Refranes glosados* appear also—in the same number and without any changes in the wording—in Dímás, the two collections must be identical. The edition of Burgos, 1509, is now available in Melchor García's facsimile reproduction published in Madrid, 1923.

Cartas en refranes by Blasco de Garay,¹⁷ and following in its wake came *Libro de refranes* by Mosén Pedro Vallés.¹⁸ The most extensive compilation of the period was made by Hernán Núñez de Guzmán, published under the title of *Refranes o proverbios en romance*.¹⁹ With the exception of Sebastián de Horozco's (died 1568 ?) 8000 *Refranes glosados*, of which no complete printed edition exists as yet, the last important collection of *refranes* to appear before 1600 was *La filosofía vulgar* by Juan de Mallara.²⁰ In point of magnitude, Maestro Gonzalo Correás' *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales* (about 1630) surpassed all its immediate predecessors.²¹ Spanish paremiological research has continued to the present day, but a complete discussion of it would be irrelevant to the purpose of this study.²²

¹⁷ The full title of the first edition, as cited by Cristóbal Pérez Pastor (*La imprenta en Toledo*, Madrid, 1887), reads: "Dos cartas en que se contiene, como sabiendo una señora que un su servidor se quería confesar: le escribe por muchos refranes, . . . hechas por Blasco de Garay. En Toledo, 1541." The British Museum possesses a copy of this edition. The second edition, 1545, found in the Biblioteca Nacional, bears a strikingly different title: "Cartas de refranes de Blasco de Garay, con otras de nuevo añadidas. Impresas Año M.D. xlv." The author, in a foreword to the reader after the first two letters, states that those "de nuevo añadidas" are anonymous (cf. *Catálogo paremiológico*, p. 53, no. 112). Sbarbi stands alone in antedating the *Cartas* by approximately half a century. He asserts: "Siguen las cartas en refranes de Blasco de Garay, racionero de la Santa Iglesia de Toledo, de que existen innumerables ediciones antiguas a contar desde fines del siglo XV, todas hoy más o menos raras, impresas, por lo regular, en unión de otras producciones de mayor o menor momento" (cf. *El refranero*, vol. vii, p. vi). The "XV" might be a misprint, but how may "a fines del siglo XV" be used to refer to 1541, the date of the first edition?

¹⁸ The full title reads: "Libro de refranes copilado por el orden del ABC. En el qual se contienen Quatro mil y trezientos refranes. El mas copioso que hasta oy ha salido. impresso. Año M.D. xxxix En Çaragoça." This collection is found, in part only, in Joseph Haller's *Altspanische Sprichwörter*, Regensburg, 1883. In 1917 Melchor García published in Madrid a complete, numbered, photographic edition, reproduced from an original copy in the Biblioteca Nacional. Apparently unaware that the British Museum has a copy of the 1549 edition, Señor García states in the account of his reproduction: "pues sólo conozco el ejemplar existente en nuestra Biblioteca Nacional." (Cf. *Catálogo paremiológico*, p. 185, no. 332.) A number of those reviewing the *Catálogo* repeated the author's mistake. The Hof- und Staatsbibliothek of München possesses another copy which Haller used for his reprint.

¹⁹ "Refranes o proverbios en romance. Que nvevamente colligió y glosó el Comendador Hernan Núñez . . . van puestos por la orden del Abc. Salamanca, 1555." A second edition appeared in Salamanca, 1578; a third in Valladolid, 1602; a fourth in Madrid, 1619; and a fifth in Lérida, 1621.

²⁰ The title of the first edition reads: "La philosophia vvlgar. de Joan de Mallara. vezino de Sevilla—primera parte que contiene mil refranes glosados. Sevilla 1568."—This collection was reprinted, together with the *Refranes* of Hernán Núñez and Garay's *Cartas*, in Madrid, 1619; and in Lérida, 1621.

²¹ Published for the first time by the Academy, Madrid, 1906.

²² For bibliography, cf. Juan Hurtado and Angel Palencia, *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1921, pp. 490-493; José María Sbarbi, *Monografía sobre los*

The following is an alphabetically arranged list of all the *refranes* contained in the *Diálogo de la lengua*. An attempt has been made, unsuccessful in the case of five, to identify them in various sources—old texts as well as the earliest and best known collectios—indicated in the left hand margin by the symbols A, L, T, Cl, M, R, Tn, Tb, Clz, Ar, G, V, N, C.²³ Those of untraceable identity are marked X, while linguistically significant variants are recorded in footnotes.

1. TMRArGVN A buen callar llaman *Sancho*.²⁴
2. VN A carne de lobo salsa de perro.
3. C A escaso señor artero servidor.²⁵
4. CIMArVN A escudero pobre *moço* adivino.²⁶
5. VN A fuerça de villano, *hierro en medio*.²⁷

refranes, adagios y proverbios castellanos, Madrid, 1891; Conde de la Viñaza, *Biblioteca histórica de la filología castellana*, Madrid, 1893, part 8, pp. 1914-1996.

²³ A —Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*, ed. Julio Cejador y Frauca, Madrid, 1913.

L —Juan Manuel, *El libro de los enxiemplos del Conde Lucanor*, Leipzig, 1900.

T —Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, *Arcipreste de Talavera*, Madrid, 1901.

Cl —Fernando de Rojas, *La Celestina*, ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, Vigo, 1899.

M —Marqués de Santillana, *Refranes que disen las viejas tras el fuego*, ed. Urban Cronan.

R —*Refranes famosísimos y provechosos glosados*, ed. Sbarbi.

Tn —Torres Naharro, *Propalladia*, 1517 (*Capitulos and Tinellaria*, Madrid, 1880; *Imenea and Calamita*, Madrid, 1832).

Tb —*Comedia llamada Thebayda*, first edition Valencia, 1521 (vol. 22 of Colección de libros españoles raros o curiosos).

Clz —*Segunda comedia de Celestina*, first edition Sevilla, 1530 (?) (vol. 9 of Colección de libros españoles raros o curiosos).

Ar —*Adagiorum Fernandi Arcaei Beneuentani ex vernacula id est hispana lingua latino sermone redditorum quinquagenae quinque addita ad initium cujus libel quinquagene fabella*, Salamanca, 1533. These *refranes* (150 in all) can be found, with glosses, in Gerónimo Martín Caro y Cejudo's *Refranes y modos de hablar castellanos con latinos*, Madrid, 1675, and, without glosses, in Sbarbi's *Monografía*, pp. 54-58.

G —Blasco de Garay, *Cartas en refranes*, ed. Lérida, 1621.

V —Mosén Pedro Vallés, *Libro de refranes*, ed. Madrid, 1917.

N —Hernán Núñez de Guzmán, *Refranes o proverbios en romance*, ed. Lérida, 1621.

C —Maestro Gonzalo Correas, *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales*, Madrid, 1906.

The Horozco collection has not been included, since the part of it already published does not reveal any *refranes* not identified in the other sources. For the sources marked Tn, Tb, Clz, the present writer is indebted to Boehmer's investigation; all the others he had searched independently, and had completed his study before the Cornell University library—where this paper was prepared—acquired volume 6 of the *Romanische Studien* (in 1922).

²⁴ *Sancho o saggio*—V.

²⁵ Recorded by Boehmer as unidentifiable.

²⁶ *rapaz*—MN.

²⁷ *vallestero, hierro o villano en medio*—V.

6. Cl2GVN A los años mil *torna* el *agua* a su *cuvil*.²⁸
7. AMGV A pan de quinze dias hanbre de tres semanas.
8. CIMRCl2ArGVN A perro viejo *no cuzcuz*.²⁹
9. MGVN A quien de mucho mal es *ducho*, poco bien *se le haze mucho*.³⁰
10. TCIMVN A rio buelto ganancia de *pescadores*.³¹
11. CIMArGVN A un traidor dos alevosos.
12. MArGVN Adonde fuerça viene, derecho se pierde.
13. CIMArGVN *Adonde* irá el buey que no are? ³²
14. TnGVN Adonde las dan, alli las toman.
15. MRArGVN Adonde no sta su dueño, alli sta su duelo.
16. MVN Agua vertida no toda cogida.
17. V Al buey maldito el pelo le luzе.
18. MArVN Al buey viejo no le cates abrigo.
19. MArVN Al moço malo ponedle la mesa y embiadlo al mandado.
20. CIGVN Al mur que no sabe sino un *agujero*, presto le toma el gato.³³
21. X Al raposo durmiente no le amanece la gallina en el vientre.³⁴
22. CIMVN Al ruin dadle un palmo, y tomaráse quatro.
23. MRVN Alla van leyes do quieren reyes.
24. TMArV Allegadora de la ceniza y derramadora de la harina.
25. MRVN Allegate a los buenos, y serás uno d'ellos.
26. AGVN Ama a quien no te ama, y responde a quien no te llama.
27. N Amigos y mulas fallecen a las duras.

²⁸ buelue—N: liebre—VN: Vallés has the following two similar *refranes*: A los años mil, buelue el agua por do solia yr. A los años mil, buelue la liebre a su cubil.

²⁹ no le digas cuz cuz—R.

³⁰ duecho—NG: le abasta—MGN.

³¹ de pescadores; nunca más perro a molino.—Cl.

³² Do—MG.

³³ horado—VN.

³⁴ This *refrán* appears in a comparatively late collection in Sbarbi's *El refranero*, vol. IX, p. 209.

28. V Anda a sombra de tejados.³⁵
 29. RArVN Ande yo caliente y riyase la gente.
 30. MArVN Arregostóse la vieja a los breds y ni
 dexó verdes ni secos.
 31. LC Ayudate y ayudaráte dios.³⁶
 32. MGv Barva a barva verguença se cata.
 33. VN Bien aya quien a los suyos se parece.
 34. MV Bolsa sin dinero digole cuero.
 35. RV Bueno es missar y casa guardar.
 36. MRGVN Cabeça loca no sofre toca.
 37. X Cada cardenal aspira al papado.³⁷
 38. MGvN Cada gallo cante en su muladar.
 39. VN Candil sin mecha ¿que aprovecha?
 40. CIGVN Cargado de hierro, cargado de miedo.
 41. V Casa de sgremidores.³⁸
 42. VN Casa ospedada, comida y denostada.
 43. N Caséme con la cevil por el florin.³⁹
 44. MGv Castigame mi madre, y yo tromposelas.
 45. Clz Cavallo de muchas sillas.⁴⁰
 46. MVN Cierra tu puerta y loa tus vezinos.⁴¹
 47. V Como por viña vindimiada.⁴²
 48. V Como Magnificat a maitines.⁴³
 49. MRClzVN Con lo que Pedro sana, Sancho adolece.
 50. CIRClzGVN Con lo que sana el higado, enferma la
 bolsa.⁴⁴
 51. CIMRV Con mal anda el huso, quando la barva
 no anda de suso.⁴⁵
 52. CIMArGVN Cria cuervo y sacaráte el ojo.

³⁵ Boehmer lists this as a *refrán*, although its form is quite obviously unlike the average.

³⁶ "et vos ayudatvos quanto pudierdes et Dios ayudarnos ha" (*El Conde Lucanor*, pp. 206-207).

³⁷ Not recorded by Boehmer.

³⁸ See note 35 above.

³⁹ Por codicia de florin no te cases con ruyn.—N.

⁴⁰ (continues) sirua de ambas sillas. Assi de la honra como del prouecho.—Clz.

⁴¹ alaba—MN.

⁴² See note 35 above.

⁴³ See note 35 above.

⁴⁴ el baço—RGVN.

⁴⁵ Guay del huso—RV.

53. CIMGV Da dios havas a quien no tiene quixadas.
 54. MRGVN *Dado* de ruin, a su dueño *parece*.⁴⁶
 55. C1C12GVN *De cada canto* tres leguas de mal quebranto.⁴⁷
 56. MV De lo contado come el lobo.
 57. C12GV De los escarmentados se levantan los arteros.
 58. MArGV De luengas vias luengas mentiras.
 59. X De Parla van a Puñonrostro.
 60. C1GV De servidores leales se hinchon los hospitales.
 61. MGv Del *lobo* un *pelo* y esse de la *frente*.⁴⁸
 62. CIVN Del monte sale quien el monte *quema*.⁴⁹
 63. CIMC12GV Dezir y hazer comen a mi mesa.⁵⁰
 64. MRV Dixo el asno al mulo: harre alla, orejudo.
 65. VN Dixo la leche al vino: bien seais venido, *amigo*.⁵¹
 66. MRArVN Dixo la sarten a la caldera: tira alla, culnegra.
 67. VN Do quiera que vayas, de los tuyos ayas.
 68. C1GV Dos a dos y tres al mohino.
 69. CIMGVN Duelo ageno de pelo cuelga.
 70. MArVN *Dure* lo que *durare* como cuchara de pan.⁵²
 71. MGVN Duro es el alcacer para çampoñas.
 72. CIMArVN El abad de donde canta, de alli yanta.
 73. GVN El ansar de Cantipalo que salió al lobo al camino.
 74. AMArGVN El can *congosto* a su amo *buelve* el rostro.⁵³

⁴⁶ Dadiva—MVN: semeja—V.

⁴⁷ Por do quiere hay—G: A cada rato—V.

⁴⁸ lobete, pelete, del copete—V.

⁴⁹ se arde—CIN.

⁵⁰ The parallels in MC12G given by Boehmer are unsatisfactory.

⁵¹ (continues) y boluio se hazia el agua y dixo esteys en hora mala.—V.

⁵² ture—turare—MN.

⁵³ con rabia—GN, con agosto—V, con grand angosto—A: de su dueño—AVN: traua—AN.

75. MVN El mal del milano, el ala quebrada y el
papo sano.
76. MV El mal vezino vee lo que entra y no lo
que sale.
77. CIMArVN El polvo de la oveja alcohol es para el
lobo.
78. MClzArGVN El que malas *mañas* ha, tarde o nunca
las perderá.⁵⁴
79. V El ruin, quando lo mientan, luego
viene.
80. N El socorro de Scalona.⁵⁵
81. CIVN En achaque de trama st'aca nustr'ama.
82. MVN En *al va el engaño*.⁵⁶
83. VN En cas del bueno el ruin *tras* fuego.⁵⁷
84. MRArGVN En cas del *hazino* mas manda la muger
que el marido.⁵⁸
85. CIMGN En salvo sta el que repica.
86. TbG Entran por una oreja y se salen por
otra.
87. CIVN Entre col y col lechuga.⁵⁹
88. MVN Esse es rey el que no vee rey.
89. V Estas son mis missas.⁶⁰
90. MVN Fue la negra al baño, y *truxo* que contar
un año.⁶¹
91. MGVN Fui a casa de mi vezina y *denostéme*,
vine a mi casa y *conhortéme*.⁶²
92. RGVN Guardate de muger latina y de moça
adivina.⁶³
93. MRArGVN Haz bien y no cates a quien.
94. MVN Haz lo que tu amo te manda, y *sientate*
con el *a la mesa*.⁶⁴

⁵⁴ hadas—M.⁵⁵ Socorro de Escalona, quando llega el agua, la villa es quemada—N.⁵⁶ (continues) que no en besarla durmiendo—MN.⁵⁷ cabe el—V.⁵⁸ mezuquino—MRGN.⁵⁹ Boehmer lists as a *refrán* "Escoger como entre peras," but he finds no parallel for it beyond an explanation of the phrase in the Academy Dictionary.⁶⁰ In the *Diálogo* it reads: "no son otras vuestras missas."⁶¹ touo—M, tuvo—N.⁶² avergonceme—MGV, dexempleme—N: consoleme—GVN.⁶³ adeuina—N.⁶⁴ sentarte has—N: al sol—N.

95. ArV Haz mal y guarde.⁶⁵
 96. CIMVN Honra sin provecho sortija en el dedo.
 97. MV Huesped que se combida, *rece es de hartar*.⁶⁶
98. CIVN Yr por lana y bolver *trasquilado*.⁶⁷
99. MArGVN La moça loca por la lista compra la toca.
100. MRArGVN La muger y la gallina por andar se pierde aina.
101. V La pierna en el lecho y la mano en el pecho.
102. V Las letras no embotan la lança.
103. VN *Lo que da el nieto al aguelo*.⁶⁸
104. ArVN Lo que as de dar al mur, dalo *al gato*.⁶⁹
105. CIMG Lo que suele ganar un cossario con otro.
106. CICI2GVN Malo es errar y peor es perseverar.
107. MRVN Malo es *Pasqual*, mas nunca le falta mal.⁷⁰
108. MArGV Malo verná que bueno me hará.
109. MV Mas da el duro que el desnudo.
110. CI2GVN Mas obediente que un fraile descalço quando es combidado para algun vanquete.⁷¹
111. TnG Mas vale *quedar por* necio que ser tenido por porfiado.⁷²
112. RGVN Mas veen quatro ojos que dos.
113. CI Me verneis a la melena.⁷³

⁶⁵ In Vallés this *refrán* appears as the second half of no. 93.

⁶⁶ ligero es de contentar—V.

⁶⁷ sin pluma—CI: tresquilado—N.

⁶⁸ Eso da el nieto al abuelo, que no es bueno.—VN.

⁶⁹ (continues) y quitarte ha de cuydado—N: y hará el mandado, y quitarte ha de cuydado—V.

⁷⁰ Vidal—RVN.

⁷¹ Boehmer gives doubtful parallels. Cf. *Romanische Studien*, vol. 6, p. 501.

⁷² ser—G.

⁷³ In CI it reads: "Mejor se doman los animales en su primera edad que quando ya es su cuero endurecido para venir mansos a la melena." The source "CI" is given here on Boehmer's authority. Cf. *Romanische Studien*, vol. 6, p. 502.

114. N Medio hermano remiendo de mal paño.
 115. VN Mientras descansas maja essas granças.
 116. NC Moça, guardate del moço quando le
 sale el boço.
 117. MRVN Muchos maestros cohonden la novia.
 118. ACIMRG Mudar costumbre es a par de muerte.
 119. TbGVN Ni al gastador que gastar ni al endura-
 dor que endurar.
 120. TRTnGVN No diga ninguno: d'est'agua no beberé.
 121. CIVN No haze Dios a quien desampara.
 122. AVN No me pesa de mi hijo que enfermó
 sino del mal vezo que tomó.
 123. CIVN No passa seguro quien corre por *el*
muro.⁷⁴
 124. MVN No por el huevo sino por el fuero.
 125. MG No puede ser mas negro el cuervo que
 sus alas.
 126. ClzAr No todos los que traen abitos y cugullas
 son frailes.⁷⁵
 127. MRGVN O rico o pinjado, o muerto o descala-
 brado.
 128. TbGV Oy por mi y *cras* por ti.⁷⁶
 129. MRArGVN Palabras y plumas el viento las lleva.
 130. CIMVN Pan y vino anda camino que no moço
 garrido.
 131. ClzVN Por la muestra podreis juzgar de la
 color del paño.⁷⁷
 132. TbC Por la vispera podeis sacar el di santo.
 133. MVN Prendas de garçon dineros son.
 134. Cl Prevenir por no ser prevenido.
 135. MARn Qual la madre, tal la hija y tal la manta
 que las cobija.

⁷⁴ (continues) e que aquel es mas sano que anda por llano—CIV.

⁷⁵ Boehmer lists as a *refrán*, but without satisfactory identification, the following:
 "No se haria mas en el monte de Torocos, o, como aca dezis, en el bosque de Bacana."
 Cf. *Romanische Studien*, vol. 6, p. 502.

⁷⁶ cual, tal—G.

⁷⁷ Por la muestra se saca el paño—V.

136. MRGVN Quando uno no quiere, dos no barajan.
 137. MAr Queda la cola por desollar.
 138. CIRArGVN Quien a buen arvol se arrima, buena
 sombra lo cobija.
 139. X Quien a si vence, a nadie teme.⁷⁸
 140. MVN Quien asnos ha perdido, cencerros se le
 antojan.⁷⁹
 141. X Quien bien ama, bien desama.⁸⁰
 142. MGVN Quien bien ata, bien desata.
 143. CIMRArVN Quien bien quiere a Beltran, bien quiere
 a su can.
 144. RGV Quien bien sta, no se mude.
 145. V Quien cabo mal vezino mora, horas
 canta y horas llora.
 146. VN Quien con su mayor burló, primero
 riyó y despues lloró.
 147. MRArGVN Quien da lo suyo antes de su muerte,
 merece que le den con un maço en
 la frente.
 148. ArGV Quien espera, desespera.⁸¹
 149. MGVN Quien guarda y condesa dos vezes pone
 mesa.
 150. MRGVN Quien ha buen vezino, ha buen maitino.
 151. ARArGV Quien haze un cesto, hará ciento.⁸²
 152. CIGVN Quien las sabe las tañe.
 153. MArVN Quien lengua ha, a Roma va.
 154. VN Quien no arrisca, no aprisca.
 155. GV Quien no aventura, no gana.⁸³
 156. MVN Quien no come, no costringa.
 157. ATArGVN Quien su enemigo popa, a sus manos
 muere.
 158. GVN Quien sufrió calló y vido lo que quiso.
 159. CIMRArGVN Quien tiempo tiene y tiempo atiende,
 tiempo viene que se arrepiente.

⁷⁸ Not given by Boehmer.

⁷⁹ Quien bueyes ha menos—MN.

⁸⁰ Boehmer gives a very unsatisfactory parallel. Cf. *Romanische Studien*, vol. 6, p. 503.

⁸¹ Not given by Boehmer.

⁸² la canasta—A.

⁸³ no ha ventura—GV.

160. CIArGVN Quien yerra y s'enmienda, a dios
s'encomienda.
161. AMArGVN Romero hito saca çatico.
162. MArV Sardina que gato lleva galduda va.
163. VN Si d'esta escapo y no muero, nunca
mas bodas al cielo.
164. VN Si mas quereis, por buen dinero.
165. N Si supiesse la hueste lo que haze la
hueste.
166. N Si tras este que ando mato, tres me
faltan para quatro.⁸⁴
167. V Siempre te bien quise y nunca te hize
bien.
168. TbGVN So el sayal ay al.
169. GVN So la color sta *el engaño*.⁸⁵
170. VN Soplará el odrero y levantarás Toledo.
171. MRGVN Todos los duelos con pan son buenos.
172. CIMClzGVN Trasquilenme en concejo, y no lo sepan
en mi casa.
173. VN Un correverás y otro que te hallarás.
174. ArVN Un padre para cien hijos, y no cien
hijos para un padre.
175. ACIMGVN Uno piensa el bayo y otro el que lo
ensilla.
176. MArGVN Vezo pon que vezo quites.
177. CIVN Yerva pace quien lo paga.⁸⁶

An objective study of the above list seems to bear out, in part at least, the assumptions already made that Valdés may have consulted the *Refranes que dizen las viejas tras el fuego* and the *Refranes famosísimos y provechosos glosados*—it is quite obvious that they were accessible to him—for his illustrations,

⁸⁴ Mucho te quiero poco bien te hago.—V.

⁸⁵ lo pardo—GV.

⁸⁶ Boehmer only suggests the following also as a possible *refrán*: "Me sacastes a bailar." Cf. *Romanische Studien*, vol. 6, p. 506.

and, more particularly, for the composition of his "quaderno." Where the support does not appear quite strong, the weakness is perhaps due to the inadvisability of applying a numerical yardstick to an investigation of this nature. The 177 *refranes*, traced only in collections of the sixteenth century or earlier, present the following distribution:

TABLE I

1. A—9	7. Tn—3
2. L—1	8. Tb—5
3. T—5	9. Cl2—14
4. Cl—41	10. Ar—44
5. M—86	11. G—76
6. R—34	12. V—149
13. N—121.	

By subtracting from this table the repetitions actually counted within the various successive sources after the first one, and by adding one *refrán* from a seventeenth century source (Correas) and the five unidentified, the composite result follows:

TABLE II

1. A—9		8. Tb—5
2. L—1		9. Cl2—6
3. T—4	Total	10. Ar—4
4. Cl—38 ⁸⁷	177	11. G—4
5. M—59		12. V—27
6. R—5		13. N—7
7. Tn—2		14. C—I
15. X—5.		

Since it would be unsound to accept Garay's *Cartas* as a collection of the fifteenth century, because of the slight evidence in favor of an earlier date than 1541, only two formal collections and one other likely source (Cl, M and R) antedating the *Diálogo* remain undisputed. That these three contain only 113 different *refranes* (only 96 in M and R together) found in the *Diálogo* does not impair the validity of our assumptions, since the

⁸⁷ We may regard the 41 *refranes* found in Cl as the basis, since A, L, and T, although of earlier date, are not strictly speaking paremiological collections. The *Celestina*, however, may be considered as one because of the extensive use it makes of *refranes*. Every other number represents a net addition to all the preceding ones.

purpose of Valdés was not to compile, but rather to select only those that would illustrate his point in every instance. As for the remaining 64 (or 81), the very fact that almost all of them ⁸⁸ found their way into the pretentious collections published within approximately fifteen years after Valdés' work should strengthen all the more the possibility that the author's "quaderno" was a serious and useful paremiological compilation. The seemingly large difference between the figures M—86 and R—34 becomes less surprising in view of the relative sizes of the collections: that of the Marqués de Santillana counting about 728 *refranes*, while the *Refranes glosados* contain approximately 268. In other words, the ratio of M—86 to 728 is fairly proportionate to the ratio of R—34 to 268 (in very general figures, 1 to 8). Furthermore, his belief that the *Refranes glosados* were "mal glosados" (cf. note 8 above) may have prejudiced Valdés against using them freely. Tabulating other figures to show the number of *refranes* common to every two or every three collections taken in rotation would indeed interrelate the several collections with reference to the *refranes* of Valdés, but would have no direct bearing on our problem.

Concerning the five unidentified *refranes*,⁸⁹ it is conceivable either that most of them have ceased to exist as such, or that they were originally of limited popularity. We can draw no definite conclusions from the fact that Valdés does not apply to them unmistakable terms like "refrán" or "galanísimo dicho," as he does in the case of others. As a matter of fact, no more than 76 are described specifically as "refranes" or "refranejos," and only 40 of these can be identified in the Santillana collection. Even though it may be tempting to conclude that these are not *refranes* at all, it should be noted that, with the possible exception of number 59, the thought and form of each are typical. Further investigation of more complete sources may identify even these five.

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⁸⁸ In 1549, when the Vallés collection was published, it would have been possible already to identify 164 of the 177 *refranes* in the *Didálogo*. Only eight more—172 in all—have been identified for this study.

⁸⁹ The number may possibly be regarded as only 4. See note 34 above.

MISCELLANEOUS

ON THE DATE OF COMPOSITION OF MOSEN DIEGO DE VALERA'S *EL DOCTRINAL DE PRINCIPIES*

THE Mas. Pal. 86 of the R. Biblioteca Palatina di Parma¹ bears the following title: "Doctrinal de príncipes dirigido al muy alto y muy excelente príncipe nuestro señor, Don Fernando, por la diuinal prouidençia Rrey de Castilla y de Leon y de Çiçilia, *primogenito heredero de los Reynos de Aragon*; conpuesto por Mosen Diego de Valera su maestre sala y del su consejo." In as much as de Valera addresses it to the heir of the kingdom of Aragon, one may infer that Valera wrote it before the death of the King of Aragon which took place on January 20, 1479.

The learned editor of the *Epístolas*, Don José Antonio de Balenchana, says: "*y debió escribirle por lo tanto poco antes de esta fecha*,"² basing his supposition on this passage of the introduction:

"Entre los antiguos romanos fué antigua costumbre, Muy Serenísimo Príncipe, que quando Señor nuevamente recibian, cada uno se esforzaba algunt agradable servicio facerle, é como la tal costumbre loable me pareçiese y a nuestro Señor haya plaçido merced tan inmensa facervos de vos dar estos reynos que por legítima sucesion de la muy alta é muy esclarecida Princesa, Reyna y Señora muestra, Doña Isabel, con quien por la divina gracia soys por casamiento ayuntado; muchas veces pensé en qué a Vuestra Altesa servir pudiese, y como la adversa fortuna denegase mi deseo en efecto redujese, y mi edad sea en la vejez llegada, y las corporales fuerzas me vayan fallesciendo,

¹ The Mas. Pal. 86 in possession of the R. Biblioteca di Parma, Italy. Mas. cart., mm. 270 x 188, 54 pages plus 1 in blank at the beginning and 1 in blank at the end. Pages numbered with pencil. The handwriting is of the fifteenth century. Marginal notes by the same writer.

² Don José Antonio de Balenchana, *Epístolas y otros varios tratados de Mosen Diego de Valera*, Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, Madrid, 1878, page xxxi.

delibré la presente obra a la doctrina de Vuestra Real y muy excelente persona componer."³

The supposition of Sr. Balenchana is correct, because on Folio 14 verso, Ms. Pal. 86, the following passage is found:

"No me paresce cosa yndiña, príncipe muy excelente, pues de los antiguos tanta mençion fasemos, alguna cosa escriuamos de los príncipes de nuestros tienpos entre los quales non quiero oluidar la manifiçencia e liberalidad de que el Duque de Milán, Felipe María, husó con los muy ilustres príncipes Don Alfonso, vuestro tío, é Don Johan, vuestro padre, de la qual, como a todos sea notorio, no conviene más dezir; ni es de oluidar entre los príncipes de gloriosa memoria el ynclito Duque de Borgoña, Filipo, padre de *Carlos que agora biue*"⁴

The Charles mentioned here is Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, who succeeded his father Philip the Good. Charles the Bold was born in 1433 and died January 5, 1477, at the siege of Nancy. Inasmuch as de Valera mentions Charles the Bold as being still alive, it may be inferred that he wrote the *Doctrinal de Principes* previous to Charles's death, probably in 1476 or in 1475. The latter date is suggested because on the ninth of May, 1475, Mosen Diego de Valera, writing to Don Alfonso de Velasco "sobre la dubda de que algunos tenían sy el Rey nuestro señor deuia traer las armas de Aragon é de Çiçilia juntas con las de Castilla é de Leon,"⁵ includes a passage which corresponds to another in Ms. 86 folio 26 verso and folio 27 recto. Our author is extremely fond of incorporating passages—at times entire pages—of material used in treaties and letters previously written. No other data are given by the contents of the *Doctrinal* as to the date of its composition; therefore, it must be concluded that it was written in 1475 or 1476, before 1477 at any rate, and probably when de Valera was Alcaide de Puerto Santa María.

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³ *Ibid.*, page xxxi and xxxii.

⁴ Ms. Pal. 86.

⁵ De Balenchana, page 25.

REVIEWS

The Life of Solitude by Francis Petrarch, translated, with Introduction and Notes, by Jacob Zeitlin, Urbana, Ill., 1924.

The recent version of Petrarch's *De Vita Solitaria* by Professor J. Zeitlin is in a way a valuable work. He has undertaken a difficult task, and in spite of numerous shortcomings, deserves much more credit than the many faultless, but facile and insignificant contributions which vitiate the atmosphere around all great men and stifle the unsuspecting student. The defects as usual are caused by the failure to realize the complexity of the problem, and the necessity both of minute information and of philosophic integration.

This translation is preceded by a rather full preface not always very pertinent and at times inadequate. The customary presentation of Petrarch as the first all around modern man is often worked out by crippling quotations, by inserting thoughts, and ignoring what had been done before our author's time.

For Petrarch surely frowns upon the scholarship, the methods and the language of the Thomists; he is without doubt a convinced anti-scholastic; but his dislike for the Aristotelic synthesis of the Christian world often pushes him back and not forward; not towards Leonardo but towards St. Augustine; and his significance is better grasped if he is connected and related to the struggle between the Augustinian thinkers and the Thomists in the 13th century. In the book translated by Mr. Zeitlin, this reactionary aspect of Petrarch is frequently in evidence in the author's hostile attitude towards the state and the life that conditions it. In the thirteenth century, St. Thomas completing the work of his German master had magnificently succeeded in harmonizing the newly acquired treasures of Greek thought with the Christian conception of reality. The keystone of this deep grounded arch was his interpretation of the State, whereby the Empire in opposition to Augustinian thought was rehabilitated as a divine institution as the *preambula gratiae*. This moral dependence of the individual on the State, even in relation to the qualities of the contemplative life, Petrarch will not recognize. His anti-state Augustinian trust in individual autonomy, supported by the many texts whereby his Epicurean masters, and often his Stoic ones too, proclaimed a life not dependent on the world as the ultimate aspiration of the wise man, forced him frequently into a position which was singularly out of touch with history.

There is always this backward leaning on Petrarch's life, which cannot be eliminated and must not be ignored. His critical attitude which contributed so much to the making of the modern man presented a reactionary aspect which no doubt, destructively, contributed as much as his humanistic innovations towards the restoring of ancient culture, towards the rescue of the individual from the magnificent chains of a universal system, and towards the decentralization of intellectual life. This reactionary side of his work which we might, for brevity's sake, call his Augustinianism, valuable as a destructive moment, appears, nevertheless, in matters of science and philosophy, as a retrogression compared to the accomplishments of the thirteenth century Aristotelians, and especially to the very valuable work of the fourteenth century Parisian Nominalists, and even to the methods of his contemporary Italian Averroists.

This side of Petrarch is obscured in Mr. Zeitlin's preface, first by omitting important parts of quotations, as for example on page 61; by interpolating, as for instance on page 31, where the significant phrase "men of letters" is inserted; and by mistranslating and overtranslating as on page 91, where a very innocent statement is distorted into "There is no compulsion by which indefinite and wavering opinion can be reduced to positive truth." Some of the passages which appear to Mr. Zeitlin as redolent of modernism are, as it will be pointed out below, to be found only in his translation; they are quite different in the original text.

In the second place, mistaken evaluations of Petrarch's predecessor are utilized. To give just one instance, St. Thomas is presented as one (page 52) "who attaches uniform respect to the most divergent authorities; who does not reconcile as much as combine the views of all his forerunners." Against this erroneous belittlement of the great philosopher it must be proclaimed once more that the Angelic doctor "completed the profoundest and most extensive union of ancient and Christian world conceptions which the world has ever attempted." And thirdly, there is a fundamental difficulty in this preface which consists in the inability to see the close relations between Petrarch's thought and the doctrines and practices of the Church. We are told, for instance (page 57), that in describing the life of the solitary man in the second tractate Petrarch "erects his shrine to the self-centered virtue of the Epicureans; and time and again the Epicurean sentiment breaks out in the phrasing." Mr. Zeitlin has not seen that "in describing the life of the solitary man" through the various hours of his day, Petrarch following the canonical divisions has incorporated the very words of the hymns sung by the Church at the particular canonical hour. So that at Matins (Chapter 1, page 109), amid appropriate Biblical phrasing, he introduces the hymn *Primo die quo Trinitas*, and quotes lines *pulsis torporibus* (not corporibus, which makes no sense) and *horis quietis psallimus*. Then (Chapter 2) for prime and terce he quotes and very closely paraphrases parts of *Iam lucis orto sidere*, and of *nunc sancte nobis spiritus*, and of *rector potens, verax deus*. And so for the rest of this section, fusing into his own language echoes, reminiscences and phrases of *Magnae Deus Potentiae*, of *Iam sol recedit igneus* of the famous *Te lucis ante*, etc., Petrarch carries us into a spiritual milieu which we should call Franciscan and not Epicurean. Evidently Epicurean for Professor Zeitlin is any kind of eudaemonistic doctrine, so that Petrarch may be called Epicurean in those very texts which are most Christian. He should, however, recall the Catholic insistence on spiritual egoism (which implies material altruism), and bearing in mind the words of St. Thomas (Summa I, 2, 26, 4): "Homo ex charitate debet magis seipsum diligere quam proximum et huius signum est quod homo non debet subire aliquod malum peccati quod contrariatur participationi beatitudinis ut proximum liberet a peccato," and "secundum naturam spiritualem—debet homo magis se diligere post Deum quam quemcumque alium," he would perhaps refrain from quoting (page 58) the following lines of Petrarch: "I could wish to have every-body, or at least as many as possible, to gain salvation with me. But in the end what do you expect me to say? It is enough for me, yea a cause of great happiness, if I do not perish myself." He would refrain from quoting these lines or at least would not describe them as "the renunciation not of the ascetic but the egoist, an attitude forestalling Montaigne in all but outright candor," for such description on the part of Mr. Zeitlin is "something more than an exaggeration, it is an irresponsible flight of the imagination."

As a translator, Mr. Zeitlin, whenever he understands the original text, has done very well, showing exceptional fidelity to the thought of the author, together with complete independence from his language.

Among the causes that have led the translator astray in his interpretation first and foremost is the deplorable state of the Latin text. I shall give a rather long list (which evidently is needed) of typical cases where a greater familiarity with the subject matter of Petrarch and with the exigencies of Latin syntax might have successfully helped to make the necessary emendations, most of which are rather easy and certain, the words of Petrarch being often but quotations from well-known authors.

On page 110 (of the translation) we find the phrase "banishing thoughts of the body" which would translate the meaningless "*pulsis corporibus*" of the text. We should read *pulsis torporibus* a line quoted from the hymn *Primo die*. On the same page "in grato" which is translated "grateful" should be changed to "ingrato" *ungrateful*. On page 119 instead of "praecedunt funeralia et tibiae" which cannot stand, and which is desperately patched by the translator into "the hired mourners and the pipes precede," we should read "praecedunt *funalia* (torches), etc." On page 121 we find this rather staggering phrase: "a pious love not *frantic* like that of Nisus but like the love of Peter for Christ, etc.," which translates the faulty text "*plenus amore pio non furiali ut Nisus sed ut Petrus Christi*." The emendation is obvious, *Euriali* in place of *furiali*. On page 150 we read "admonish yourself with a fervent spirit as though with the power of burning words," which in defiance of syntax and sense translates the untenable "*et ardentium quasi verborum faculis calidis admonere praecordiis*," where sense and grammar demand that we read *faculas* (flames) and *admovere* (to bring close to). On page 161 the irrelevant sentence "*Ac perfecto consummatoque viro loquitur*" which is translated: "and he speaks to a man who has attained moral perfection" can be brought into logical connection with the context by reading "*At perfecto*," etc., *at* as regularly introducing the *occupatio* "but some one may say, etc." to which then Petrarch logically answers "*Hoc si quis dixerit*, etc." On page 170 the empty phrase "who prefer sleeping to not sleeping," *qui malunt dormire quam non dormire*, can easily be corrected since it is a quotation from St. Augustine. Reading *dormitare* in place of the second *dormire* we have the pertinent clause: "who prefer sleeping to being deprived of the necessity of sleep." On page 180 we read "*A qua non verisimile est*," etc., which is mistakenly rendered as "from this it follows." The period before *A qua* should be removed and the clause be made continuous with the previous sentence, the antecedent of *qua* being *natura*, so as to read "by whom it is not likely that the last act will be negligently treated." On page 183 the corrupt: "*hostes multi et indomiti ingens parumque discrimen*" translated "our numerous and unconquered enemies dangers both great and small" should be changed so as to read *paratum* instead of *parumque*. Then the correct sense will appear and the following phrase "*nullus somno locus aut inertiae*" will not be misunderstood as an element of the difficulties of the situation, but will be rendered as "there is no time to waste." On page 184 the incoherence of the sentence "Will you enter upon a path so far unattempted?"—incoherent because it is assumed to have been previously *attempted*—can be removed by reading *iterum* instead of *iter*. ("Will you again undertake, etc.") On page 202 "*dignum quia volentibus accidit, Italia suis ipsa se iuribus conficit*" is translated as "it is deserved for it falls upon an *abject* people. Italy ruins herself with her own *laws*." In the first place *volentibus* does not mean *abject*; and then it is no question here of *laws*. Instead of *iuribus* the context demands *viribus*, with a reminiscence from Horace's Ep. 16, 2, "*Suis et ipsa. Roma viribus ruit*," so that the passage should read as follows: "deserved because it falls on those who *wanted* it. Italy is undoing itself with its own efforts." On page 280 the clause "made him quite

forget himself" accepts the senseless solecism of the text "immemorem sibi" which should be instead "immemorem cibi" in reference to the familiar incident recalled also by Petrarch in Ep. Sen. I, 5. On page 283 the sense demands that changing *metuentis* to *metientis* we read not "in fear of the dizzy heights" but "as he measures the dizzy heights." The faulty reading "circum *migrantibus* illicibus" should be read as "circum *nigrantibus*" and the adjective should be introduced in the translation on page 285. The last paragraph on page 294 should be revised after emending the following corrupt sentence: "cum quo ita gaudium vitae incunditas aderit ut consilium non absit, ita ut vis ingenii vigorque animi ut qui his nonnumquam iungi solet maestitiae nulla nubes interveniat." The word *ut* should be expunged before "vis ingenii," and for *qui* before *his* we should read *quae*, and recall also the restrictive meaning of *ita* . . . *ut* (only in so far as).

On page 302 we read a rather inept sentence: "Gold presents to be sure a brilliancy and softness to the senses which is deceptive to the mind, but it actually brings thorns, etc.," as a translation of "praefert *quidem* splendorem et lenitatem sensibus illudentem animo *aut* offert tenebras et spinas." Reading *autem* in place of *aut* as correlative to *quidem* and observing the rules of syntax we should translate as follows: "Gold presents a brilliancy and a smoothness which can indeed beguile the senses; but to the soul it brings darkness and thorns." In the passage which is translated on page 313 instead of *habiliturus* the text requires *abitus*. There are two or three important passages very corrupt in the book which will better be discussed elsewhere for they are complicated and rather important; but in the main this is the nature of the text and this is one of the reasons why the translation is defective. Another is the failure to recognize well-known quotations which if identified would have helped to avoid many erroneous interpretations. We are startled on reading Mr. Zeitlin's version by innumerable statements that would make Petrarch a very poor humanist and less of a thinker than he actually was. Our Stoic soul for instance is shocked when we read (page 147) "If Cato was ashamed to die with a groan because one was by to see." But in Petrarch we find, "Etsi de Marco Catone scriptum est quod puduit gementem illo teste mori" where quoting Lucan (Phars. IX, 886) he actually says: "dying people were ashamed to groan in Cato's presence, as it was written about him." On page 153 we have this strange sentence "one of our priests, Cheremon the Stoic, says, etc." How this "librarian of Alexandria and afterward tutor of Nero" becomes "one of our priests" is hard to see. Petrarch however says: "As one of our priests tells us, Cheremon the Stoic said, etc."

An interesting example of our poet's classical embroidery gone to waste is found on page 158 where the translation reads as follows: "both imitated Plato who carried on the discussion about his *Republic* and *Laws* amidst calm cypress groves and sylvan spaces." The reference to the Republic is incorrect for the setting of that work is quite different. The phrases that Petrarch uses: *otiosa cypresseata* and *spatia sylvestria*, are quoted from Cicero (De Legibus I, 15) who in turn gets them from Plato (Laws 625 B) and the passage should be translated as follows: ". . . Plato who carried on the discussion concerning institutes and the legislation of States amidst, etc." On page 164 we find an incongruous sentence that might have been clear if the translator had read the chapter of *De Amicitia* which Petrarch is quoting from. Petrarch says: "Cum enim dixisset (Cicero) 'et solitudinem fugeret' non dixit 'et socios' sed 'et socium' ait 'studii quaereret.'" Mr. Zeitlin construing *socios* as object of *fugeret*, whereas the sense demands that it be the object of *quaereret*, translates "For when he says 'he would seek escape from loneliness he does not say

from associates too, but he does say that he would seek a companion in his studies, etc." The correct version is "For when he says that he would 'shun solitude' he does not say that he would seek 'several companions' but rather 'one companion,' etc." In the same way on the next page the mistranslation of "etiam unum" can be corrected by referring it to the previous quotation from Seneca.

Even Horace is lost sight of. On page 172 we find "*The play of evenly matched instincts*, the thoughtless gathering of wrath and its appeasement," etc. Wondering what this might be, we turn to Petrarch's text and find: "*illa iam parium collusio et temeraria irae collectio positioque*" which is a quotation from the *A.P.* (line 158): "*puer gestit paribus colludere et iram colligit ac ponit temere*, etc.," and so discover that in the place of "the play of evenly matched instincts" we must put "the sport of children of the same age."

Livy might have helped to avoid the ludicrous translation on page 243: "it behooves to touch the wounds which . . . have putrefied from their *location* and long neglect." "*Situ tamen et longa segnitie putruerunt*" says Petrarch, and Livy before him had said "*marcescere otio situque civitatem*" and both by *situ* mean not *location* but "dullness," "atrophy through inaction." Likewise on page 312 the version could be corrected by recognizing in the phrase "*hic manebimus optime*" a quotation from Livy 5, 55.

Passing on to Christian authors incorporated by Petrarch, it might be remarked that "*mors votiva*" does not have the pagan flavor of Mr. Zeitlin's translation: "sacrificial death" but simply means "desired death" (see Prud. *Steph.* 10, 330). Acquaintance with the familiar hedonistic maxim pithily put by Dante as "*libito felicitas*" will straighten out the mistranslation on page 256: "and error is prescribed," etc. St. Paul is forgotten along with Latin genders on page 207 where Petrarch's text: "*quibus suum was sancte et honorifice custodire propositum est*," a paraphrase of *I Thess.* 4.4: "*ut sciat unusquisque vestrum vas suum possidere in sanctificatione et honore*" is rendered as "by all those whose purpose it is to guard their *pledge*," etc., through a confusion of *vas* neuter which means "vessel" with *vas* masculine, which means "pledge."

Less pardonable in this translation are the many errors due to insufficient knowledge of the meaning of Latin words. Such blunders for instance as translating "*aulaeis*" by "mansion," whereas it means "tapestry" (page 114); "*pernicitas*" by "perversity" though it means "quickness" (page 152); "*cortina*" by "vessels" when it signifies "curtain"; "*quaestus*" by "*complain*" instead of "*profit*" (page 119). "*Frequentes*" (page 215) means "crowded"; and to "*frontibus*" we should not give the sense made familiar by the World War. The adverb "*coram*" never means "secretly" (page 296): in contrast with "*absens*," in the same line, it signifies "in my presence." *Curia* is not the same word as *cura* (page 301); "*ultra*" cannot be translated by "excessive" (page 302). "Bounds of Good and Evil" (page 277) will never do for "*de finibus bonorum et malorum*" and as for proper names it might be well to recall that "Mt. Pessulano," page 223, is nothing more than ordinary "Montpellier."

To lack of familiarity with Latin syntax are due errors of this kind: "Among which neither knowledge nor understanding drew breath" (!), page 193, translating Petrarch's "*ubi nec intellectus nec cognitus respiraret*" which instead means "where being unknown and not understood he might live in peace." A mistranslation on page 197 comes from ignoring the genitive case of "*Viventis*" and "*Videntis*." On page 207 "having sat rises up again" misunderstands "*sedendo consurgitur*" and misses the point, which is the efficacy of a non-active life. On that same page

Petrarch is made to ask too much of the devil, where instead of: "Oh life hateful to the evil spirits who were it otherwise would hardly afflict the bodies of those they entered" our author merely says: "Oh life hated . . . by the devils . . . who for that reason harass those men who have entered upon such kind of life" (*id vitae genus ingresses*). On page 232 a *head* becomes a "station" and a cardinal's hat is missed. Taking *gestamus* as subjunctive (page 254), the translation gives to the sentence a meaning opposite to what Petrarch meant, and on the next page "*fidelis effectus*" cannot possibly be turned into "action of the believer" for it simply means "if he had become a Christian." "*Captivis insignibus ante currum actis*" would be better translated by "illustrious captives made to march in front of the chariot" rather than "captive standards borne in front of the chariot." Misconstructions of syntax result in faulty and illogical translations on page 305 ("love inflames it"); page 306 ("an occasion of idle mirth," etc.); page 130 ("But for those," etc.); page 178 ("But these people," etc.); page 190 ("hurting the feet," etc.); the last sentence on page 163, etc.

Connectives are a source of frequent trouble to the translator, and their misconstruction turns the sense upside down. A typical case is the misunderstanding of "quin et." Petrarch says: "Let us call upon the Lord when he is near, nay, let us see to it that while our bodies have gone forth from the cities, our souls too may go forth from our bodies." In place of which we find "Let us call upon Him while he is near *lest* (quin et) when our bodies are removing from the city our souls should remove from our bodies."

There are important passages bearing on religion and philosophy which in this translation would give the reader a mistaken view of Petrarch's manner of thinking. One or two examples will suffice: Chapter 6 (page 127) starts off with a statement which if not corrected might tempt a productive scholar in the modern languages to write a book on "Darwin and Petrarch." We read there (page 127) "what I have said about environment I shall affirm about the mind itself: that it is something, nay, a great deal, but by no means everything; and only that mind is truly reasonable which makes proper allowance for the influence of environment." What Petrarch says is this: "What I have said about places I shall repeat about the soul; it surely comes in for something, nay for a great deal, but not for all. For that is to be found only in Him who gave appropriateness to places and reason to the soul. A great thing indeed and a divine one is the peaceful serenity of the spirit which *is given* to man by God alone and no other" ("*sed in Eo tantum qui opportunitatem locis tribuit, animo rationem*," etc.).

The beginning of Chapter 4 (page 137) is a hopeless inversion. Petrarch is speaking of the advantages of solitude as lacking in temptations of a certain kind. He says: "Cui enim sese ostendet in sylvis, cui se comat inter vepres cui purpuram explicet?" which means: "For whom would solitary men show off, for whom would they bedeck themselves in the midst of brambles, for whose eyes would they unfold their crimson robes?" Our translation has it as follows: "To whom *does* she (solitary life) reveal herself amid forests, for whom *does* she display her charms and *thorns* . . . for whom *does* she *weave* the purple," and so on through a very ludicrous crescendo that culminates on the next page in a complete confusion of the religious point that Petrarch tries to make. The famous Augustinian sentence that "for seeing God not any kind of solitude will do; for what is needed thereto is the solitude of our spirit" becomes in this translation: "for seeing God there is need not for any other kind of application but that of solitude."

One thing that must be borne in mind in dealing with Petrarch is that he has a

familiarity with classical philosophical language which usually goes over the head of his modern readers. The particular book now under consideration is at times a brilliant patchwork of speculative terms, usually borrowed from Cicero, playing with, and alluding to familiar Epicurean and Stoic tenets, which are completely lost sight of in the translation. One example will suffice: in Chapter 3 (page 134), Petrarch says: "illud in primis ante oculos habendum ut non concupiscentia inani sed natura duce freti viam teneamus," where *inani* is the translation of the Epicurean *septs* which covers all those desires which are neither necessary nor natural; so that against this *inani* we have the guidance of nature (in the particular philosophic use of the word). Very little of this appears in the translation of the passage which is "We are to be guided not by idle wishes, but by our *character* and predisposition."

The reader might now ask why such a long review if the book is so bad? To which I would reply first that Petrarch has been and still is such a fertile field for fabrication that a little exemplary rigor is demanded. In too many books, essays and articles, pictures of Petrarch have been drawn which look like a fadeout of Leonardo on the face of Galileo. And secondly, this translation is not by any means a worthless piece of work. The author tackled a hard job, and he had to make mistakes. It is not that he is a worse scholar than others, but that he is a braver student, and therefore more praiseworthy. Translations of this kind are very useful. Had he given himself more time for preparation, Mr. Zeitlin would have done something of unusual value for the study of Italian literature.

DINO BIGONGIARI

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Die Lais der Marie de France, herausgegeben von Karl Warnke, mit vergleichenden Anmerkungen von Reinhold Kohler nebst Ergänzungen von Johannes Bolte und einem Anhang "der *Lai von Guingamor*," herausgegeben von Peter Küsel. Dritte verbesserte Auflage. Third volume of the *Bibliotheca Normannica* founded by Hermann Suchier, continued and edited by Walther Suchier. Halle (Saale), Max Niemeyer, 1925.

Karl Warnke, whose second edition of the *lais* came out in 1900, and the first nearly twenty years before, has brought out this third edition. Not only was the second edition out of print, but the *lais*—which by the way have entered into their second century of modern existence since the first edition by B. de Roquefort was published in 1819 at Paris—had been the object of so much research since 1900 that it was indeed very advisable and timely to embody the results in a new edition. The volume is consequently larger; the critical introduction contains 97 pages instead of 73 in the second edition; and to the authentic *lais* of Marie is added the *lai* of Guingamor which Peter Küsel has edited as presumably of Marie de France. This he has endeavored to prove in his dissertation (*Guingamor, ein Lai der Marie de France*, Rostock, 1922), on the basis of similarity of language, versification and rime-technique, vocabulary, style and subject matter. A summary of this dissertation serves as a preface to this very interesting *lai* (pp. 232–255) in the *Anhang*, for Karl Warnke has naturally been careful not to include it among the twelve authentic ones. In this regard it should be noted that Guingamor differs from Marie's *lais* in that while the interest in the latter centers on a touching or psychological situation, in Guingamor the reader's attention is soon entirely absorbed by the marvelous quality of the adventure.

To sketch briefly what is especially new in this third edition, attention should first be called to the attempt that has been made to arrive at something definite

regarding the person of Marie. She was perhaps born in Western Isle de France, in Vexin. Inspired by Breton harpsongs she wrote her *lais* before 1167 and dedicated the collection to king Henry II of England; her *Esope* was dedicated to a certain Count William (Longsword, son of Henry II?); she translated her *Espurgatoire Saint Patrie* not before 1185 from the work of a monk H. of Saltrey. This is also the opinion of one of the editors of the latter poem, Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins. She must have lived in England, although of late years the Austrian scholar Emil Winkler has endeavored to show that this opinion was without foundation. His view was in turn opposed by Elise Richter, G. Bertoni, Foster E. Guyer, and H. Gelzer.

The gist of Winkler's argument is that the English words used by Marie, and which form part of the evidence of her stay in England, are not significant in this respect since other writers of this period have used English words also: this Marie did as an ornament to her style. She may have known the work of the monk of Saltrey just as well on the continent. K. W. still holds, however, for the generally accepted opinion (p. viii).

K. W. is inclined to accept the view of the English historian, John Ch. Fox, that our writer was the natural daughter of Godefroy IV of Anjou, father of Henry II of England. In that event, Marie would hail from Maine. She became later abbess of the convent of Shaftesbury, and is mentioned in the documents of that convent around the year 1181. She died in 1216. Marie is called by Denis Piramus, in the *Vie Saint Edmund le rei*, "Dame Marie," which title is indeed most appropriate to an abbess.

K. W. dismisses, after a thorough discussion, the attempt made by the Italian scholar, Ezio Levi, to attribute to her the authorship of the *Eneas* (pp. ix-xiv). He supplies thereafter new proofs that the order of composition of the works of Marie is the same as given in the beginning of this review. Ezio Levi in his *Studi sulle opere di Maria di Francia* (Firenze, 1922) tries to controvert one of the arguments advanced by J. Matzke, in an article in *Mod. Phil.* (1907, p. 471), viz.: an allusion to Eliduc in the *Roman Ille et Galleron* by Gautier d'Arras, written evidently soon after 1167, since it is dedicated to the new Empress Beatrice, wife of Frederick Barbarossa, crowned on the first of August by Pope Pascal. K. W. thinks, however, that this date fits in very well with the language of the *lais*.

A very interesting part of the introduction is devoted to the discussion of the *lais bretons*, *lais narratifs* and *lais lyriques*: the *lais bretons*, songs with harp accompaniment, none of which has come down to posterity; the *lais narratifs*, with but one exception, in rhymed octosyllabic couplets which tell a romantic love story usually taking place on Celtic soil (those of Marie being typical of the genre); the *lais lyriques*, of which we have about thirty, in subject and form identical with the *descorts*, were written in the last years of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century.

The discussion about the connotation of the word *breton* as used by Marie and the poets of her time continued through the twenty years which have elapsed since the second edition of the *lais*. Celtic scholars, such as H. Zimmer and E. Brugger, have long since shown that by the word *breton* was meant, in learned circles, the original inhabitants of England before and during the invasions of the Saxons, but not the Celtic stock of the Welsh or Scotch. In every day language, however, it served to designate the people of Armorica after the Celtic emigration from Great Britain: in other words, the inhabitants of Brittany. Yet the French scholar, F. Lot, recognizes in the word *breton* only the former meaning: i.e., as belonging to the period of the British Arthur. K. W. holds that this purely conventional use of the

words *breton* and *Bretagne* is not to be found in Marie's *lais*, but on the contrary the common every day meaning of these terms (pp. xxxiii-xxv): most of Marie's *lais* take place in Brittany, bisclavret, aûstic being Breton words, Guigemar, Graellent, Tydoret, Breton proper names.

This did not prevent Breton harpists from going to England and even composing *lais* there like those of the Cor, Chevrefeuille, or the one which seems to be connected with the Haveloc story and poem. K. W. reminds us that Bédier (*Tristan*, II, 27) is of the same opinion when he says that "la matière de Bretagne est le produit (par les jongleurs bretons) des légendes armoricaines et des légendes galloises." The presence of Breton jongleurs in England is made more than probable by the presence of Bretons in great numbers in the army of William the Conqueror, and the vast fiefs which they received in Cornwall, Herefordshire and Yorkshire. Breton jongleurs must inevitably have accompanied their people.

K. W. insists on the literary character of the Breton *lais* which were not word-less music. The allusions to such songs with music accompaniment, singling out a particular incident in a romantic adventure, are fairly numerous. It is very likely that these songs were sung in Breton, sometimes in French, although the details of the adventure leading to the *lai* must have been told in French, just as a Russian concert singer of to-day will explain to his foreign audience the circumstances that inspired a certain song, and then sing that song in Russian.

In regard to the narrative *lais*, F. Wolf had expressed the opinion that the *lai du Cor* of Robert Biket was the oldest (ca. 1150). Marie de France developed the genre to perfection; and her imitators gradually applied the term to any poetical narrative. With Marie, the term *lai* still means the Breton harpeong, and also the story of the circumstances that brought about its composition. The narrative proper soon became part of the stock of French conteurs; it was adapted to the conditions of French court life. When King Arthur was introduced into literature in the early part of the twelfth century by Geoffrey of Monmouth, the Breton conteurs must have easily substituted him for the obscure princes of their original narratives.

Thus are we introduced to a discussion of L. Foulet's theory which was developed in the *Modern Language Notes*, the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* and the *Revue des Langues romanes* (1905-1908), and which completely dissociates Marie's *lais* from the Breton songs. According to Foulet the latter were simply music, and Marie made use of the term to enhance the effect of her stories, which she got from oral or written sources but not from the *lais bretons*. The fact that Marie herself claims to have the adventures she relates from such *lais* may not be taken into account. K. W. cannot bring himself to doubt her word to that extent without some positive ground.

On p. lxiv ff., K. W. gives the list of emendations to the text, most of which are reprinted from the second edition, except in *Eliduc* where they are considerably increased. On p. lxxix, I notice "avenu st. avenu"; both terms are alike and on comparing both editions I see no change. This is evidently a mistake. The annotations from R. Köhler have been augmented by Professors J. Bolte and W. Suchier, being thus brought up to date.

In fine, this third edition of the *lais* is essentially a new work in which all the later discussion around Marie de France has been aptly and conveniently summed up, critically handled and adjudged: it will be indispensable in every library which caters to students of that period.

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Kursgefaste neufranzösische Syntax. Verkürzte Bearbeitung der neufranzösische Syntax, von Joseph Haas. Halle (Saale), Niemeyer, 1924, 1 vol., I-XII, 112 pp.

Dr. Haas' book is a condensation of the 1909 edition of modern French syntax, and forms the fourth volume of the short text-book series on Romance languages and literatures published at Halle under the general editorship of Karl Voretzsch. The title should not convey the idea that the book is an elementary text-book. In fact, within its 100 pages it covers the whole field of syntax and goes into considerable detail on some points, as we shall see.

The subject is not only approached from the point of view of logic, but also from psychological and philological angles. Concise notes explain the occasional discrepancies between the psychological elaborations within our consciousness and the grammatical forms of expression. Much importance is given to popular forms of expression. These are quoted for comparison with the examples of the inducted rules, whether they contradict the latter or follow a similar tendency. Conversely, the learned influence of grammarians is occasionally mentioned.

The presentation of the material is based upon the following consideration: organized spoken expression merely reflects the relative functions of the various elements of consciousness. Our mind perceives an entity (image, idea, etc.), that makes this individualized unit of consciousness the object of its attention; by immediate analysis or through previous experience it perceives a characteristic of the object; thus is obtained the complex; then it may associate elements or complexes in very many different ways. Now in the corresponding field of expression, we use formal elements and we make them perform certain logical functions. Hence the three divisions of the grammar: the forms and functions corresponding to the object of thought, those corresponding to the characterization, and the connecting elements.

The following is an outline of Dr. Haas' work (occasionally the paragraph numbers have been inserted in the text, in order to facilitate reference):

Dr. Haas makes a preliminary discussion between *phrase* and *sentence* [6-15]. The *phrase* may be incomplete and consist of one or more words, e.g., *pardon, à la bonne heure*. It may be complete, its origin being synthetical, e.g., *moi courir! Moi gal*, or analytical, e.g., *héritage, partage* (preceding subject); *Témoin cette lettre. Que longues les nuits. Demain le départ* (preceding predicate). *Sentences* may be also complete or incomplete. The subject may exist psychologically, though unexpressed; it is the case of the imperative, wrongly called incomplete. Conversely the subject may not exist psychologically, and nevertheless be expressed, e.g.: *Il pleut*. Finally the psychological and the logical elements may correspond, but not necessarily.

Then the author takes up the expression of the objects of thought. A very detailed study is made of its possible forms (16-50): generally a noun; but also an adjective, e.g.: *Cela sent le fumé*; an adverb, e.g.: *Il y a un mais*; a noun clause, e.g.: *Que tu sois arrivé m'a fait plaisir* (note the popular: *pour quand . . .*); an interrogative clause, e.g.: *Dis-moi qui tu as vu*; a relative clause with or without connecting word, e.g.: *Voilà qui me dépasse. C'est à qui viendra*; a concessive clause, e.g.: *Quiconque sera reçu*; an adverbial clause of time, place, etc. . . .; an infinitive, e.g.: *Mourir est un grand malheur*; a personal pronoun in any of its substituting functions, namely pro predicative adjective, e.g.: *Je suis contente, tu le* (neuter, formerly *lui*); *seras*; pro predicative noun, e.g.: *Etes-vous la cuisinière? Je la* (agreement) *suis*; pro indefinite antecedent, e.g.: *Il se la coule douce*; pro indefinite or definite person object to a preposition and referring to the subject: *se, soi* and *lui, elle* (note the

popular tendency to use the third person in: *Moi qui croyais pouvoir s'amuser*; a demonstrative pronoun determined or indetermined, e.g.: *Celui-ci est plus grand que celui-là*. *Fin celui-là qui n'y laisse du sien* (note the popular addition of the article in: *les ceusses qui*); a possessive pronoun; a relative pronoun, the latter playing besides the part of subordinating expression.

Having thus studied the forms of the object of thought, Dr. Haas studies the corresponding functions (50-70). The subject when a pronoun is not always expressed, e.g., *Sais pas. N'importe*. In impersonal expressions *il* is used as apparent subject, e.g.: *Il pleut*, but note the popular tendency to use *ça*, e.g.: *Ça pleut*. The expression *il y a* has assumed the signification of *être*; in *il y a* sentences there takes place a logical inversion: *Il y a* (copula) *une belle église* (logical real subject and psychological object) *dans ce village* (logical predicate and psychological subject). As to the object, it may be any kind of expression of an object of thought with *de* (genitive), *à* (dative), or without anything at all (accusative), but it may be easily confused with other elements; thus a predicative noun may easily be taken for an object, e.g.: *Elle fait la sourde*; compound expressions may also seem to contain an object, e.g.: *Il a trouvé moyen* (no object) vs. *Il a trouvé le moyen* (object); finally the distinction is sometimes very fine between the adverbial expression and an object, e.g.: *Cela vaut deux francs*. It should also be remembered that the same word may be direct and indirect object according to the construction with *faire*, *laisser*, *entendre*, *voir*, e.g.: *Je laisse cet enfant* (direct) *écrire sa lettre*. *Je laisse écrire sa lettre à cet enfant* (indirect).

In the second part of the grammar the author takes up the *characterization of the expressions of objects of thought*. After a survey of *determination* (72-86), he broaches the study of characterization by means of adjectives, participles and verbs.

Adjectives (89-112). It is through analysis that we perceive the characteristics of an object of thought. These characteristics are more or less independent from the object itself: always independent as predicative expressions, they may or may not be so as attributive ones; the limit is not very clear. The adjective may assume an adverbial signification, e.g.: *Il est sorti quoique malade*. On the other hand, its part may be played by a noun, e.g.: *Un maître maçon* (multiplicity of characteristics); an infinitive with a preposition, e.g.: *Les temps à venir*; a relative clause. (Note that the relative pronoun does not always agree with the antecedent, e.g.: *Il n'y avait que moi qui l'arrachât à l'idée dévorante . . .*) The comparative is a compound expression, and the superlative is a determined compound expression. The supreme superlative is expressed by means of the word *possible*. An adverb may be used comparatively with an adjective, e.g.: *Me serez-vous plus fidèlement amie*, or modify a comparative adjective, e.g.: *Les observations les plus profondément curieuses* (positive: profondément curieuses).

Participles (113-124). Describing the adjectival and adverbial functions of the participle, Dr. Haas notes that the gerund is still used to refer to other elements than the subject, e.g.: *Votre perte est impossible en vous mettant à notre tête*; and that the present participle may have a passive value, e.g.: *Café chantant*; and that the agreement of the past participle with the preceding direct object is the work of grammarians.

The nature of *apposition* (125-133) is analyzed into three elements: proximity of the determined word, rythmical independence and syntactical independence.

Verbs (134 ff.). First the possible forms of the predicate are described, and it is explained how the auxiliaries have retained their meaning; *avoir* expressing action, shortness of time, and *être* expressing state, length of time; hence the classification of verbs into verbs conjugated with *avoir* and verbs conjugated with *être*.

Then, temporal expression is taken up. The double significance of verbal expression: time of occurrence and degree of completion, is made the basis of tense study, and it is shown how by using *aller*, *être en train de*, *venir de*, and by tense substitution, the incompleteness of the tense system can be remedied, and all actions can be expressed both as to time and completion. The use of the past indefinite and of the past definite is explained by the concern or the unconcern of the speaker with respect to the action expressed by him: in the first case (concern) the past indefinite is used, in the second case (unconcern) the past definite is used.

Finally modal expression is studied. Moods express the relation of the speaker to the truth or reality of the statement. The use of the imperfect with the conditional or of the pluperfect with the conditional past in conditional sentences is dependent upon the relation of cause and effect between the *si* clause and the result clause; hence the use of the conditional after *si* when such a relation does not exist. The uses of the subjunctive are fully described, the author dividing them into two classes: those which correspond to the true notion of the subjunctive, *i.e.*, a modification of reality under the influence of a particular state of consciousness, and those which are in contradiction with that notion.

The *connecting elements* (176 ff.) must be studied from the double point of view of their signification and of their connecting function, but some of them play a merely connecting part in the sentence. To *coordinate* is to unite two or more equivalent logical elements (sentences or parts of sentences), but it should be noticed that the logical equivalence in question does not involve identical construction, *e.g.*: *Je leur dis qu'ils sont jolis et de grossir vite*. Note the popular tendency to use *que* frequently as a connective. *Prepositions* are studied with respect to their syntactical function, and also to their origin (Latin or modern), form and meaning, namely with the infinitive. As to the *merely connecting function* of certain words, it may be observed in such expressions as: *Elle n'avait jamais aimé d'écrire* or *à écrire* (or *écrire*). *J'en ai un de livre*. *En voilà une de question*.

Dealing with *subordination*, Dr. Haas makes a full study of *que*, its relative origin and its subordinating meanings of time, consequence, concession, its signification in compound expressions (*pour que* etc. . . .) and its substituting function to avoid repetition of conjunction. It happens that main clauses are introduced by subordinated conjunctions, *e.g.*: *Malheur qu'il soit mort*. On the contrary, subordinated clauses may not be introduced by conjunctions, *e.g.*: *Daigndt-elle m'offrir sa main, notre union serait-elle heureuse?*

A chapter on word order concludes the grammar.

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INSTITUTO DE LAS ESPANAS

NOTES AND NEWS

The new year for the INSTITUTO DE LAS ESPANAS has begun full of promise. The excellent work, "Filosofía del Derecho," by Sr. Mariano Aramburo, one of the leading legal authorities in Latin America, is being well received in the Spanish speaking world. Copies for members of the Instituto will be distributed shortly. We shall be glad to have our members express their individual opinion of the merits of this work.

The Instituto's "Summer Trip to Spain," under the direction of Professor Joaquin Ortega and Mr. Robert H. Williams, was most successful. There were about 45 in the party. Everywhere they went they were most cordially received. The officials of each city visited arranged special entertainment in their honor, in this way they were the recipients of many unexpected attentions not on the official schedule. One member expressed it as "a veritable pilgrimage de Luxe, full of interest and culture. We saw most of the historic monuments of Spain, and besides, studied during the summer session of the Centro de Estudios Históricos at the Residencia de Estudiantes in Madrid."

The "Summer Trip" for the summer of 1925 is under the direction of Professors W. M. Barlow of Curtis High School, New York, and Francisco Piñol, Connecticut College, New London, Conn. The party expects to sail from New York on the S. S. *Paris* of the French Line on June 27, and returning will leave Vigo on August 28 on the S. S. *La Bourdonnais* of the French Line. The itinerary will include, among other places, Paris, Barcelona, Monserrat, Zaragoza, Toledo, El Escorial, the stay in Madrid for the summer course at the Centro de Estudios Históricos, tour through southern Spain, and finally to Galicia before embarking for home. All inquiries should be addressed to Professor W. M. Barlow, Curtis High School, Staten Island, New York City.

There has recently come to our desk a very interesting folder describing the Summer School of Spanish in the University of Porto Rico, Rio Piedras, Porto Rico. Full information about the courses, etc., of this summer school can be obtained from Josephine W. Holt, Director, Eighth and Marshall Streets, Richmond, Virginia.

On the evening of January 14th, the initial meeting of the Graduate Spanish Club, an organization fostered by the Instituto and dedicated to research and investigation in the fields of Spanish language and literature, was held in the Romance Reading Room of Columbia University. About fifty persons attended. Professor Gerig, Executive Officer of the Department of Romance Languages of Columbia, opened the meeting by speaking briefly on the aims and possibilities of such a group. Professor Wm. R. Shepherd emphasized the value of the study of the history of Spain and South America in researches in literature. Professor Federico de Onís, Head of the Spanish Department of the University, then discussed the recent developments in Spanish letters, dwelling especially on the attitude of Miguel de Unamuno toward the present government of Spain. Miss Winifred Brown, a graduate student

of Columbia, read a paper on the "Emersonian Element in the Works of Unamuno"; and Dr. Leon Z. Lerando of Lafayette College spoke at some length on "Spanish Influences in Czechoslovakia." The meeting then adjourned for informal discussion of the topics suggested by the papers and to enjoy the opportunity afforded for examining a large number of recent Spanish books and periodicals which were loaned for the occasion by Professors Onís and Gerig.

FRANK CALLCOTT,
Editor, Publications

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Hue de Rotelande: *Protheselaus, ein altfranzösischer Abenteuerroman*, herausgegeben von Franz Kluckow, Bd. I, Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur, Bd. 45, Göttingen, 1924.
- F. Strowski, *Tableau de la Littérature française au XIXe siècle et au XXe siècle*, Paris, Delaplane, 1925.
- C. H. C. Wright, *A History of French Literature*, 2d ed., New York, Oxford University Press, 1925.
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- Gilbert M. Fess, *The Correspondence of Physical and Material Factors with Character in Balsac*, University of Pa. Dissertations, Phila. 1924.
- T. Navarro Tomás, *Handbuch der Spanischen Aussprache*, übersetzt von F. Krüger, Leipzig, Teubner, 1923.
- Mary S. Crawford, *Life of St. Nicholas*, University of Pa. Dissertations, Phila. 1923.
- G. Atkinson, *Les Relations de voyages au XVIIe siècle et l'évolution des idées*, Paris, Champion, 1925.
- C. S. Parker, *The Defense of the Child by French Novelists*, Columbia University Dissertations, New York, 1925.
- A. W. Pollard, *English Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1923.
- Lettres de Mme. de Lafayette et de Gilles Ménage*, publiées par H. Ashton, Publ. of the Mod. Humanities Research Assoc., Univ. Press of Liverpool, 1924.
- Sveriges Offentliga Bibliotek, Accessions-Katalog*, 1923, Stockholm, Norstedt, 1924.
- M. J. Rudwin, *A Historical and Bibliographical Survey of the German Religious Drama*, Univ. of Pittsburgh Studies, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1924.
- Margaret de Schweinitz, *Les Epitaphes de Ronsard*, Paris, Les Presses Universitaires, 1925.
- A. C. L. Brown, *The Grail and the English Sir Perceval*, reprinted from *Modern Philology*, 1919-1924; Univ. of Chicago, Ill.
- Girolamo Fracastoro Naugerius sive de Poetica Dialogus*, transl. by Ruth Kelso, Univ. of Ill. Studies, Urbana, 1924.
- H. Bargy, *Description phonétique du présent du verbe*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1925.

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. XVI.—APRIL-JUNE, 1925—No. 2

LA SINALEFA ENTRE VERSOS EN LA VERSIFICACIÓN ESPAÑOLA

I

EN un estudio publicado en esta revista diez años ha, *Notes on the Versification of El Misterio de los Reyes Magos*,¹ traté de demostrar que la sinalefa era un fenómeno muy bien conocido en la antigua versificación castellana. En vista de tantos ejemplos seguros de sinalefa en el *Misterio de los Reyes Magos* y en otros monumentos poéticos anteriores al siglo XIV quedaba para mí desbaratada la extraordinaria teoría de Federico Hanssen, que negaba la existencia de la sinalefa en la antigua versificación, y que declaraba que los primeros ejemplos seguros los presenta el Arcipreste de Hita.² Aunque yo fui quien por

¹ THE ROMANIC REVIEW, vol. VI, 1915, páginas 378-401. El estudio detallado de todos los casos de hiato y de sinalefa en el *Misterio* se halla en páginas 395-399. Hay en el *Misterio* unos noventa y nueve casos de vocales concurrentes, de los cuales sesenta y tres son hiatos y treinta y seis son sinalefas. Aun quitando del número de los casos que hemos leído con sinalefa unos dos o tres que pueden leerse de otra manera, todavía quedan unos treinta y tres o treinta y cuatro casos de sinalefa en el *Misterio*, o sea, más del treinta por ciento de todos los casos de vocales concurrentes. En el *Misterio* la sinalefa y el hiato están por consiguiente en la relación de 1 a 2. Esto era en el siglo XII. En el siglo XVI, con Juan del Encina, la relación era sinalefa 9, hiato 1. En la versificación moderna la relación es sinalefa de 96 a 99, hiato 1 a 4.

² Véase mi estudio ya citado, página 399, nota número 65, que cita las publicaciones de Hanssen donde afirma y vuelve a afirmar varias veces su teoría. Esta fué anunciada por primera vez en 1896, en su artículo, *Sobre el Hiato en la antigua Versificación castellana*, *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*. En su *Gramática histórica de la Lengua Castellana*, Halle, 1913, § 102, declara positivamente que los primeros ejemplos seguros de la sinalefa en la versificación castellana se encuentran en el Arcipreste de Hita. Cuando ya ve su teoría desbaratada, y además, cuando observa los numerosos casos de sinalefa no sólo en el *Misterio* sino que también en el *Libro de Alejandro*, Hanssen inventa una nueva teoría, todavía más extraordinaria que la

primera vez se opuso en un trabajo especial a la teoría de Hanssen, no era yo, por cierto, el único que la rechazaba. En 1902 el erudito profesor de la Universidad de Chicago, el Dr. Karl Pietsch, en su publicación, *Preliminary Notes on two Old Spanish Versions of the Disticha Catonis*,³ página 25, nota 81, declaraba firmemente que no creía en la teoría de Hanssen, y al mismo tiempo que yo publicaba mi estudio sobre las vocales concurrentes del *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*, Menéndez Pidal nos ofrecía el texto del antiguo poema *Elena y María* y afirmaba que había que leer los versos con sinalefa y no con hiato.⁴ Repito y afirmo lo que he dicho ya en mis publicaciones ya citadas: *la sinalefa era un fenómeno muy bien conocido y de uso frecuente en la versificación castellana desde sus primeros monumentos poéticos*. Pasemos ahora al estudio de la sinalefa entre versos.

II

La versificación románica está en relación directa con la versificación latina. La versificación castellana heredó de la latina no sólo la asonancia y la rima, sino que también el isosilabismo y hasta los grupos rítmicos de acento fundamentales.⁵ La sinalefa era un fenómeno bien conocido y muy empleado en

primera, a saber, que todas las sinalefas del *Misterio* y del *Libro de Alejandro* (¿y todas las demás de la antigua versificación?) no son sinalefas sino elisiones. Véase su artículo, *La elisión y la sinalefa en el Libro de Alejandro*, *Revista de Filología Española*, tomo III, 1916, páginas 345-356, y el artículo mío, *Synalepha in Old Spanish Poetry: A Reply to Mr. Lang*, en *THE ROMANIC REVIEW*, vol. VIII, 1917, páginas 88-98. En resumen, hay que decir adiós para siempre a la teoría que negaba la existencia de la sinalefa en la antigua versificación castellana y que acogida por Stengel en la *Krit. Jahresbericht*, IV, I, página 380, y por otros, ha sido aceptada ciegamente por algunos hispanófilos que han tenido la temeridad de publicar ediciones de antiguos textos españoles ajustándose absolutamente a ella, haciendo correcciones en los manuscritos para que salga el hiato apetecido y desaparezca la sinalefa, demostrando de esta manera su escaso conocimiento de una de las leyes fundamentales de la versificación castellana, y tímida y apologeticamente afirmando de cuando en cuando que en el español antiguo existía tal vez la sinalefa si las vocales concurrentes eran idénticas.

³ *The University of Chicago, The Decennial Publications*, vol. VII, páginas 193-231.

⁴ *Elena y María*, *Revista de Filología Española*, tomo I, 1914, páginas 52-96. Véase en particular página 94.

⁵ El verso sáfico, por ejemplo, empleado por Horacio, era regularmente un verso de once sílabas. El tipo de,

Iam satis terris nivis atque dirae
grandinis misit Pater, et rubente (I, II.)

la versificación latina y la versificación castellana lo continúa juntamente con otros factores fundamentales de la versificación. De la misma manera la sinelefa entre versos existía también en la versificación latina, y no es de extrañar, por consiguiente, que la encontremos también en la castellana.

A la sinelefa entre versos los latinos llamaban *synapheia*. Aunque el fenómeno no era tan frecuente como la sinelefa ordinaria en el medio del verso, la *synapheia* no era rara. Basten los siguientes ejemplos:

I. Sobra una sílaba al final del verso y hay que enlazarla con la vocal inicial del verso que sigue:

iactemur doceas: ignari hominumque locorumque
erramus; (Virgilio, *Eneida*, I, 332.)

Iam licet venias marite,
uxor in thalamo tibi est, (Catulo, 61, 191.)

II. Sobra una sílaba al principio del verso y hay que enlazarla con la vocal final del verso que precede:

labitus ripa Iove non probante u-
xorius amnis. (Horacio, I, II.)

Flere desine. Non tibi, Au-
runculeia, periculum est. (Catulo, 61, 86.) *

III

Todos los casos de la sinelefa entre versos que hemos encontrado en la versificación española son del tipo latino II, es decir, la vocal que sobra en la medida silábica se halla al principio del verso y hay que enlazarla con la final del verso que precede. El uso más frecuente se encuentra en las combinaciones métricas donde hay sólo versos cortos de tres, cuatro o cinco sílabas, o

llevaba invariablemente el acento en las sílabas 1, 4 y 10. Prescindiendo del factor cuantitativo este tipo de verso era en realidad un verso endecasílabo llano, igual al verso románico de este nombre cuyo ejemplo más antiguo en romance es el verso de la *Chanson de Roland*, o sea el tipo - - - - - ⁴ - - - - - ¹⁰ -. Este verso latino esilábico y lleva los acentos ya definitivamente determinados.

* Véase Luciani Muelleri, *De Re Metrica*, Petropoli et Lipsiae, 1894, páginas 352-356.

donde los versos cortos alternan con otros más largos. Entre versos largos iguales los casos son muy raros.

Los primeros ejemplos de la sinalefa entre versos en la poesía española son del siglo XIV y se encuentran en las coplas de pie quebrado en las cuales alternan octosílabos y tetrasílabos. No daremos ejemplos de Juan Ruiz por no entrar en problemas de interpretación textual, pero hay algunos seguros en sus cantares. Para el siglo XIV los únicos ejemplos que ahora daremos son los siguientes de Pedro de Veragüe, *Doctrina de Discrípcion*.⁷

52	Por estos vados pasando	- - - - - 7 -
	Y ras en paz.	- - 3
58	Alma y cuerpo condepna	- - - - - 7 -
	A todo mal.	- - 3
111	Presta mente sey mañoso	- - 3 - - - 7 -
	en te partir.	- - 3
148	E por synple quien se moja	- - 3 - - - 7 -
	He non lo siente.	- - 3 -

Hay que observar que el pie quebrado repite, generalmente, el primer grupo rítmico del verso anterior o forma el primer grupo rítmico del verso que sigue. Es decir, la pausa final del pie quebrado coincide por lo general con la pausa que sigue al primer grupo rítmico del verso octosílabo. En estos versos el grupo que verdaderamente determina el ritmo es un grupo silábico que consiste en cuatro sílabas, la tercera siempre acentuada, - - 3 - . Establecido de esta manera el esquema rítmico de estos versos resulta perfectamente natural la sinalefa entre versos. La sinalefa entre versos es absolutamente necesaria. La exige no solamente el número exacto de las sílabas del verso sino que también el ritmo mismo.

⁷ Publicada por R. Foulché-Delbosc en la *Revue Hispanique*, tomo XIV, páginas 565-597.

IV

Pasemos ahora al siglo XV cuando los casos son muy numerosos. Ya queda dicho que todos los ejemplos que hemos encontrado de esta época se encuentran en las combinaciones métricas donde los versos quebrados de cuatro sílabas alternan con los de ocho. Hay varios tipos. La concordancia entre el pie quebrado y el octosílabo que le precede en cuanto a los acentos es notable y muy general, pero no absoluta. Hay también que observar que esta concordancia rítmica es menos general entre el pie quebrado y el octosílabo que le sigue aunque con éste vaya unido por la rima. Puesto que, como se verá más adelante, la sinelefa se halla siempre entre el pie quebrado y el octosílabo que precede o sigue damos sólo estos dos versos como tipo métrico. El tipo perfecto en su concordancia de acentos es el que sigue. Los ejemplos son de los *Proverbios* y de *Diálogo de Bias contra Fortuna* del Marqués de Santillana. A este tipo llamaremos TIPO A.

Marqués de Santillana, *Proverbios*:⁸

	I	
Fijo mio mucho amado,	-- 3 -- -- 7 --	
para mientes,	-- 3 --	
	2	
Si querras, seras querido,	-- 3 -- -- 7 --	
ca temor	-- 3 --	
	II	
Ca de fecho delibrado	-- 3 -- -- 7 --	
non se atiende	-- 3 --	

Marqués de Santillana, *Bias contra Fortuna*:⁸

⁸ Todos los textos de las obras del Marqués de Santillana, de Frey Iñigo de Mendoza y de Fernán Pérez de Guzmán que citamos son de la *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Tomo 19: *Cancionero Castellano del siglo XV*, ordenado por Foulché-Delbosc, Tomo I, Madrid, 1912. Los números indican en la medida silábica las sílabas que llevan el acento al final de cada grupo rítmico. En el TIPO A el grupo que determina el ritmo es el pie quebrado. El verso octosílabo es en realidad dos grupos, y con el tetrasílabo hay tres: *en error que—non quisiera en—continente*, o sea, -- 3 -- | -- 3 -- | -- 3 --.

	1	
Como.É piensas tú que non?	-- 3 -- 7	
verlo has,	-- 3	
	2	
Sojudgados soys a mí	-- 3 -- 7	
los humanos.	-- 3 --	
	35	
Quieres do el Apolo nasce	-- 3 -- 7 --	
Muy de grado	-- 3 --	

Siguen ahora ejemplos de sinalefa entre versos del TIPO A.
Marqués de Santillana, *Proverbios*:

	9	
en error que non quisiera	-- 3 -- 7 --	
en continente,	-- 3 --	
	59	
bien morir es por fazaña	-- 3 -- 7 --	
e de fazer.	-- 3	
	63	
que del dar, lo más honesto	-- 3 -- 7 --	
es brevedad.	-- 3	
	78	
mas espera su cayda	-- 3 -- 7 --	
e mal inmenso;	-- 3 --	
	80	
que non vengas por ventura	-- 3 -- 7 --	
en pobredad?	-- 3	

Marqués de Santillana, *Bias contra Fortuna*:

	10	
Ca si juntas son riqueza	-- 3 -- 7 --	
e caridad	-- 3	
	96	
e las leyes que dexó	-- 3 -- 7	
el espartano	-- 3 --	

Marqués de Santillana, *Cancionero Castellano*, ya citado, páginas 530-569:

de quien fuste consolada	-- 3 -- 7 --
e favorita:	-- 3 --
más honesta e más sentida	-- 3 -- 7 --
e más graciosa.	-- 3 --
de cuydados mas que farto	-- 3 -- 7 --
e dolorido	-- 3 --
pero yo deseo a ti	-- 3 -- 7
en buena fe.	-- 3
En tan buen ora te vi	-- 3 -- 7
e te fable	-- 3
que del todo te me di	-- 3 -- 7
en buena fe	-- 3
Sospirando iba la niña	-- 3 -- 7 --
e non por mi,	-- 3

Frey Iñigo de Mendoza, *Cancionero Castellano*, ya citado, páginas 72-78:

que la gente castellana	-- 3 -- 7 --
es tan ufana	-- 3 --
es muy poco poderosa	-- 3 -- 7 --
y prouechosa	-- 3 --
sy la carne no es regida	-- 3 -- 7 --
y sometida	-- 3 --
para ver lo venidero	-- -- -- 7 --
y postrimero	-- 3 --
por lo qual los del concejo	-- 3 -- 7 --
al tiempo viejo	-- 3 --
tornó flaco lo valiente	-- 3 -- 7 --
en continente	-- 3 --

Algunos de estos ejemplos que terminan en vocal acentuada pueden leerse con compensación en vez de sinalefa, porque,

claro es, después de la vocal final acentuada puede haber una o dos sílabas sin acento:

e las leyes que dexó el	-- 3 -- -- 7 --
espartano	-- 3 --
en tan buena hora te vi e	-- 3 -- -- 7 --
te fable	-- 3 --

Ejemplos como los que acabamos de dar hay también en los versos de Jorge Manrique, Pero Guillén de Segovia y otros poetas de la época. Hasta ahora hemos escogido solamente los casos de sinalefa entre versos que pertenecen al TIPO A, un tipo de versos pareados en cuanto a la concordancia de acentos. Ahora pasamos al tipo más general y más numeroso y el que más numerosos ejemplos nos ofrece de sinalefa entre versos, el tipo de par de versos donde la concordancia de acentos no es absoluta. Hay combinaciones métricas donde los versos o pies quebrados de cuatro sílabas van pareados y otras donde alternan con los octosílabos. A este tipo de versos donde no se observa la concordancia de acentos del TIPO A, llamaremos TIPO B. Siguen algunos ejemplos.

Marqués de Santillana, *Proverbios*:

O fijo, sey amoroso, ⁵	-- -- -- -- 7 --
e non esquivo;	-- 3 --
revuelve, trastorna e gira ²⁰	-- -- -- -- 7 --
en continente	-- 3 --
e siempre te falla presto ⁵⁸	-- -- -- -- 7 --
a bien morir	-- 3 --
los vicios de mancebía ⁹⁵	-- -- -- -- 7 --
e mocedad	-- 3 --

Marqués de Santillana, *Cancionero Castellano*, páginas 556-569:

antes que yo te dejara	----- 7 -
i dola mia,	-- 3 -
Recuerdate que padesco	----- 7 -
e padesci	-- 3 -
e sesso e saber perdi	----- 7 -
en buena fe	-- 3 -

No damos más ejemplos del TIPO B por ser tan numerosos. Cualquiera que se dé la molestia de examinar los versos del siglo XV los encontrará a menudo. En Jorge Manrique hay más de una docena en páginas 96-116 de *Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos* de Menéndez y Pelayo, tomo III.

En las estrofas de tres versos, los dos primeros de cuatro sílabas y el tercero de ocho la sinelefa entre los versos de cuatro sílabas es muy frecuente. Siguen algunos ejemplos de Fernán Pérez de Guzmán; *Cancionero Castellano*, páginas 698-702. El tipo métrico de la estrofa es el que sigue:

Alma mya,	-- 3 -
noche e dia	-- 3 -
loa la Virgen Maria.	----- 7 -

Ejemplos de sinelefa:

del maluado	-- 3 -
e grant pecado	-- 3 -
Quien se inclina	-- 3 -
a la muy fina	-- 3 -
que aplaze	-- 3 -
e satisfaze	-- 3 -
ca su gloria	-- 3 -
e su vitoria	-- 3 -
Syempre exora	-- 3 -
es ta señora	-- 3 -
O beata,	-- 3 -
in temerata	-- 3 -

Si padesco,	-- 3 --
a ti gradesco	-- 3 --
Si penado	-- 3 --
a tribulado	-- 3 --
O señora,	-- 3 --
a quien adora,	-- 3 --

En la última estrofa de las *Cient trinadas a loor de la Virgen María*, de donde hemos sacado todos los ejemplos de Pérez de Guzmán, hay sinalefa entre los versos primero y segundo y entre el segundo y el tercero:

e tu guya	-- 3 --
el alma mía	-- 3 --
a la celestial via. Amén.	----- 2

En estas coplas de pie quebrado de Pérez de Guzmán, como en otras del mismo tipo hay concordancia absoluta entre los acentos de los tetrasílabos. Los tres versos llevan la misma rima. El ritmo de estas coplas tiene tanta solemnidad y espiritualidad que su belleza no ha sido superada en la poesía castellana.

Los siguientes ejemplos son del *Cancionero de Costantina*.⁹ Se hallan en combinaciones métricas muy variadas, pero todos los ejemplos se encuentran entre versos de cuatro y ocho sílabas.

17 gloria do mi gloria mora	----- 7 --
y parayso,	-- 3 --
18 lumbré que la mia ciega	----- 7 --
y desbarata	-- 3 --
32 por nosotros espiraste	-- 3 ----- 7 --
en el madero	-- 3 --
35 tornare glorificado	-- 3 ----- 7 --
en dias dos	-- 3 --
48 vuestro el pecado y indicio	----- 7 --
y quiso Dios	-- 3 --

⁹ *Cancionero de Juan Fernández de Costantina*, Sociedad de Bibliófilos Madrileños, Madrid, 1914. El número de la página va indicado a la izquierda.

53	yo nada tema la muerte	----- 7 -
	y pueda verte	--- 3 -
54	pues no nacida naciste,	----- 7 -
	y mereciste	--- 3 -
105	ante otra valerosa,	--- 3 --- 7 -
	es mas de mas	--- 3 -
154	esta orden tenebrosa	--- 3 --- 7 -
	en que me vedes	--- 3 -
161	con la mas alta tristeza,	--- 3 --- 7 -
	y no postizos,	--- 3 -
185	de la tinta con que escriuo	--- 3 --- 7 -
	el mal que tengo	--- 3 -

Los mejores ejemplos de la sinelefa entre versos que podríamos dar de la última mitad del siglo XV y de los primeros años del siglo XVI son los siguientes de Juan del Encina. Se encuentran en general en las mismas condiciones que los anteriores. Los ejemplos son tomados de *Teatro Completo*.¹⁰

32	¿Hoy en este día?	
	Sí.	--- 3 --- 7
	¡Y no le vi!	--- 3 -
75	¡Carnal fuera! ¡Carnal fuera!	--- 3 --- 7 -
	Es pera, espera.	--- 3 -
79	Y asomó por otra parte	--- 3 --- 7 -
	el estandarte	--- 3 -
287	Hoy parió la su vecina	--- 3 --- 7 -
	y se lo vende.	--- 3 -
374	E si estuviese cenando	--- 3 --- 7 -
	y de recuesto,	--- 3 -

V

Durante los siglos XVI y XVII la sinelefa entre versos no es tan frecuente como en el siglo XV, pero los ejemplos son

¹⁰ *Teatro Completo de Juan del Encina*, Edición de la Real Academia Española, Madrid, 1893. El primer caso puede ser compensación y no sinelefa, como ya queda explicado.

todavía bastante numerosos. Se encuentran generalmente en las mismas condiciones que en el siglo XV. Siguen algunos ejemplos notables:

Cristóbal de Castillejo: ¹¹

110a	En la una va labrada	-- 3 -- 7 --
	En perfección	-- 3 --
110b	Barrenadas van primero	-- 3 -- 7 --
	A mano llena;	-- 3 --
123b	Estarán a tu servicio	-- 3 -- 7 --
	Y señorío.	-- 3 --
149a	Honesta, contemplativa	-- -- -- 7 --
	Y muy devota;	-- 3 --
188a	Vez que se vió colorada	-- -- -- 7 --
	Y vergonzosa;	-- 3 --
191a	Sin ser caso reservado,	-- 3 -- 7 --
	Al gún momento	-- 3 --
192b	Porque yo los conocí	-- 3 -- 7 --
	En su morada	-- 3 --

Francisco de Figueroa: ¹²

94a	Habló aquella deidad santa	-- 3 -- 7 --
	A sus amados;	-- 3 --
94a	Sin cometer sacrilegio,	-- 3 -- 7 --
	En un tesoro.	-- 3 --
94a	Reprehendiendo cuanto pasa	-- 3 -- 7 --
	En cualquier parte?	-- 3 --
94a	La alcahueta, la hechicera	-- 3 -- 7 --
	Y la perdida?	-- 3 --
95b	Fortunilla lisonjera,	-- 3 -- 7 --
	En tenderás	-- 3 --
95b	Ni muy hermosa ni fea,	-- -- -- 7 --
	En que tendrás	-- 3 --

¹¹ *Poetas Líricos de los Siglos XVI y XVII*, Tomo I, B. A. E., vol. 32, Madrid, 1854.

¹² *Ibid.* Tomo II, B. A. E., vol. 42, Madrid, 1857.

No es necesario dar más ejemplos. Seguramente se encuentran los ejemplos en todos los poetas que escribían versos con estas combinaciones. En los autos y farsas hay muchísimos ejemplos, semejantes a los que ya conocemos de Juan del Encina. La célebre composición poética de Quevedo, la letrilla satírica, *Poderoso caballero Es don dinero* es un ejemplo muy notable de la sinelefa entre un verso octosílabo y un pie quebrado de cuatro sílabas porque los dos versos van unidos por la rima. Lo curioso es que la rima del primer verso va estropeada, al parecer, por la añadidura de la sílaba *es*, que no pertenece al segundo sino al primer verso. Estos dos versos hay que leerlos, por consiguiente de esta manera:

Poderoso caballero	— — 3 — — 7 —
Es don Dinero.	— — 3 —

Hay aquí, como en las demás combinaciones métricas semejantes, tres grupos rítmicos, cada uno dominado por una sílaba de acento fuerte,

Poderoso	— — 3 —
caballero es	— — 3 —
don Dinero	— — 3 — ,

y el oído percibe y la mente comprende también un grupo mayor, que podemos, si queremos, llamar verso, como sigue:

Poderoso caballero es don Dinero.	— — 3 — — 7 — — 11 —
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Otros ejemplos muy interesantes, pero en general, idénticos a los anteriores se encuentran en los tomos II y IV de *La Verdadera Poesía Castellana* de Cejador.¹³ Véase por ejemplo, tomo II, páginas 46-52. Hay también muchos ejemplos en *Romancero y Cancionero Sagrados* de Justo Sancha.¹⁴

Pero en los siglos XVI y XVII hay algunos ejemplos nuevos de sinelefa entre versos. Se encuentra también entre versos iguales. Entre versos de cuatro sílabas vemos algunos ejemplos

¹³ *La Verdadera Poesía Castellana, Floresta de la Antigua Lirica Popular, recogida y estudiada por D. Julio Cejador y Frauca*, 5 tomos, Madrid, 1921-1924.

¹⁴ B. A. E., Madrid, 1855.

en la composición número 2151 del tomo IV de la obra de Cejador, ya citada:¹⁵

que escarchado	-- 3 --
y perfilado	-- 3 --
que el ganado	-- 3 --
alborotado	-- 3 --
su trinado	-- 3 --
enamorado	-- 3 --
azucarado	-- 3 --
venerado	-- 3 --
y celebrado	-- 3 --

Más notable es el caso de sinalefa entre versos iguales de seis sílabas que encontramos en los dos primeros versos, también unidos por la rima, de *Ande yo caliente* de Góngora, y que se repite seis veces más entre octósilabo y hexasílabo:

Ande yo caliente,	1 --- 5 -
y riase la gente.	1 --- 5 -
naranja y aguardiente,	-- 3 --- 7 -
y riase la gente.	1 --- 5 -
que en el asador reviente,	--- --- 7 -
y riase la gente.	1 --- 5 -
del rey que rabió me cuente,	--- --- 7 -
y riase la gente.	1 --- 5 -
sobre el chopo de la fuente,	-- 3 --- 7 -
y riase la fuente.	1 --- 5 -
la regalada corriente,	--- --- 7 -
y riase la gente.	1 --- 5 -
y la espada sea mi diente,	-- 3 --- 7 -
y riase la gente.	1 --- 5 -

¹⁵ Igual procedimiento hemos visto en algunos versos de Fernán Pérez de Guzmán en el siglo XV; y en los siglos XVIII y XIX se repite como más adelante veremos.

No hay ni un solo caso de los siete donde no haya sinelefa entre la conjunción y y la vocal final del verso que precede.

Seguramente estos ejemplos no son los únicos que hay de sinelefa entre versos iguales en la poesía castellana de los siglos XVI y XVII. Son los únicos que nosotros tenemos a la mano. En resumen, la sinelefa entre versos durante los siglos XV-XVII es muy frecuente entre versos octosílabos y de cuatro sílabas o de pie quebrado, y se encuentra también entre los octosílabos y los hexasílabos. Entre versos iguales la hemos hallado entre versos de cuatro y entre versos de seis sílabas.¹⁶

VI

Del siglo XVIII en adelante la sinelefa entre versos va cayendo poco a poco en desuso, y en la versificación moderna es rarísima. Esto no es debido a que las leyes de la versificación hayan cambiado o que haya aversión a ella de parte de los poetas. La verdad es que en general la poesía española moderna admite la sinelefa en el verso casi sin restricción alguna y que el hiato es una cosa rara y excepcional. Lo que pasa es que del siglo XVIII en adelante las coplas de pie quebrado en las cuales abundaban los ejemplos en los siglos anteriores han caído en desuso y en la poesía moderna son muy raras.

Ejemplos del Siglo XVIII.

José Somoza, *Epístolas*:¹⁷

¹⁶ D. Felipe Robles Dégano, que ha escrito uno de los mejores tratados de versificación castellana, aunque todavía dominado hasta cierto punto por la tradición clásica, *Ortología Clásica de la Lengua Castellana*, Madrid, 1905, había ya llamado la atención a la existencia de la sinelefa entre versos en la poesía castellana; §§ 129-130. El señor Robles Dégano, sin embargo no admite que haya en castellano versos tetrasílabos o de pie quebrado, y considera, al parecer, a estos casos de sinelefa como sinelefa en medio del verso, aunque él mismo nos da dos ejemplos de sinelefa entre octosílabos y uno entre hexasílabo y endecasílabo. Estos mismos y los que yo he citado entre hexasílabos y entre octosílabos y hexasílabos nos prueban definitivamente que la sinelefa entre versos no se limita a los casos de octosílabos y pies quebrados de cuatro sílabas, aunque entre éstos ocurra con mayor frecuencia. La verdad es que entre los versos de cuatro sílabas es bastante frecuente hasta en el siglo XIX y que la nota del señor Robles Dégano al pie de página 117 tiene poco fundamento. Es evidente que cuando Caramuel decía, "*Quam (synalepham) auris postulat in hoc carminum genere* (coplas de pie quebrado) *postulat in aliis omnino non tolerat*," hablaba con poco conocimiento de los hechos. Y lo mismo que decimos de sinelefa entre versos podemos decir acerca de la compensación, que trataremos en otra ocasión.

¹⁷ *Poetas Líricos del Siglo XVIII*, ed. Cueto, Tomo III, B. A. E., vol. 67, Madrid, 1875.

470a	Entre un torbellino ciego	--- 7 -
	Y mar mutable.	--- 3 -
470a	Dignidades y opulencia	--- 3 --- 7 -
	Es la ventura	--- 3 -
470a	De más estima, nobleza	--- --- 7 -
	Y calidad:	--- 3 -
470a	El de la naturaleza	--- --- 7 -
	y la verdad.	--- 3 -

Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva, *Canciones*:¹⁷

597b	El hijuelo que ha perdido,	--- 3 --- 7 -
	Y va tras él;	--- 3 -
598a	La caída repentina	--- 3 --- 7 -
	En tu carrera?	--- 3 -
598a	De mi mal, que no te olvida,	--- 3 --- 7 -
	Y de ti cura,	--- 3 -

En el siglo XVIII hay también ejemplos de sinalefa entre versos tetrasílabos, como en los siglos anteriores. Ejemplos:
Eugenio Gerardo Lobo:¹⁸

32a	Ya ha vencido	--- 3 -
	El vano ruido	--- 3 -
	Del sentido	--- 3 -
	Y las potencias,	--- 3 -
32a	Ya más quieto	--- 3 -
	Va sujeto	--- 3 -
	Ha cia el objeto	--- 3 -
	Que desea,	--- 3 -
32a	Ya su vida,	--- 3 -
	E nardecida	--- 3 -
	Con la herida	--- 3 -
	De mis flechas,	--- 3 -

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Tomo I, Madrid, 1869.

El siguiente ejemplo, de Francisco Sánchez Barbero, ocurre entre versos trisílabos: ¹⁹

Me incita,	- 2 -
Me inflama	- 2 -
La llama	- 2 -
De amor.	- 2 -
Me grita	- 2 -
El acento	- 2 -
Sangriento	- 2 -
De honor.	- 2 -

Ejemplos del siglo XIX. Coplas de pie quebrado.
José Zorrilla: ²⁰

61a	Y abajo en la yerba verde	- - - - - 2 -
	Al fin la pierde	- - 3 -
61a	Así la mora decía,	- - - - - 2 -
	Y respondía	- - 3 -
84a	Y sobre la luz se tiene	- - - - - 2 -
	En ronco vuelo.	- - 3 -
84a	Concibe la luz incierta	- - - - - 2 -
	El pensamiento.	- - 3 -
89a	En la margen se le inclina,	- - 3 - - - 2 -
	Y como crece	- - 3 -
118a	Y si alegre, entretenida	- - 3 - - - 2 -
	Estás, ¡mi vida!	- - 3 -
145a	A Dios; duerme, mi sultana,	- - 3 - - - 2 -
	Y tu ventana,	- - 3 -

Espronceda: ²¹

52	Le volviste placentero;	- - 3 - - - 2 -
	Y con doloso	- - 3 -

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Tomo II, Madrid, 1871.

²⁰ *Obras de D. José Zorrilla*, ed. Ildefonso de Ovejas, Tomo I, *Obras Poéticas*, Garnier, París, s.a.

²¹ *Obras Poéticas de don José de Espronceda*, París, 1900.

Entre versos de cuatro sílabas.

Espronceda:²¹

75	Y dé pecho	-- 3 --
	A mi valor.	-- 3 --
77	Y del trueno	-- 3 --
	Al son violento,	-- 3 --
	Y del viento	-- 3 --
	Al rebramar,	-- 3 --
82	Y si pena	-- 3 --
	Y descuidado	-- 3 --
83	Ni me obligo	-- 3 --
	A a agradecer;	-- 3 --
83	Dar limosna	-- 3 --
	E s un deber.	-- 3 --
208	¿Qué rumor	-- 3 --
	Lejos suena,	-- 3 --
	Que el silencio	-- 3 --
	En la serena	-- 3 --
	Negra noche interrumpió?	-- 3 -- 7 --

Al dar el último ejemplo hemos citado la estrofa entera para que sirva de ejemplo de lo que ya hemos dicho sobre lo natural que resulta la sinalefa entre versos cuando la pide el ritmo de los versos. Si al poeta se le hubiera ocurrido dividir el último verso en dos como los anteriores hubiera resultado una estrofa de seis versos de cuatro sílabas en vez de cuatro de cuatro y un octosílabo, y en ese caso hubiera sinalefa entre los dos últimos versos de la misma manera que entre el tercero y el cuarto:

Negra noche	-- 3 --
In terrumpió.	-- 3 --

Un verso, después de todo, no es sino un grupo rítmico bien definido. Cuando se repiten estos grupos de una manera algo regular el resultado es una serie de grupos rítmicos semejantes o idénticos, y eso es el ritmo en la poesía.

VII

En la poesía moderna la sinalefa entre versos es rarísima. Pero todavía hay algunos versificadores que siguen la antigua manera de rimar y admiten la sinalefa entre versos. Siguen algunos ejemplos notables.

Ricardo León:²²

52	supe mirar, y cegué	----- 7
	e n hondo abismo;	--- 3 -
52	¡del misterio de la vida	--- 3 ----- 7 -
	y de la muerte!	--- 3 -

Ramón del Valle-Inclán, *Versos de Job*:²³

467	toda la vida es mudanza	----- 7 -
	has ta estar muerto!	--- 3 -
	¡Quién vió por tierra rodado	----- 7 -
	e l almenar	--- 3
	y tan alto levantado	--- 3 ----- 7 -
	e l muladar!	--- 3

Hay cuatro ejemplos más en esta composición.

Rubén Darío, *Prosas Profanas*:²⁴

184	¿A qué comparar la pura	----- 7 -
	ar quitectura . . .	--- 3 -
185	La blanca pareja anida	----- 7 -
	a dormecida:	--- 3 -

VIII

Queda establecida la existencia de la sinalefa entre versos en la poesía española con numerosos ejemplos desde principios del siglo XIV hasta el día de hoy. Es un fenómeno importante en la versificación y su estudio puede servir para aclarar otros problemas métricos que todavía no conocemos muy bien.

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²² *Alivio de Caminantes*, en Tomo I de sus *Obras Completas*, Madrid, 1915.

²³ *Parnaso Español Contemporáneo*, ed. José Brissa, Barcelona, 1914.

²⁴ Rubén Darío, *Obras Completas*, Editorial Mundo Latino, vol. II, Madrid.

DECADENCE AND RIMBAUD'S SONNET OF THE VOWELS

SINCE decades Rimbaud's famous *Sonnet of the Color of the Vowels* has had the privilege of stirring critics to lyrical indignation. They discovered in it proof sufficient of the accusation that Rimbaud suffered from a nervous disease, from sensorial hallucinations which brought him to attribute colors to the vowel-sounds: "A, noir; E, blanc; I, rouge; U, vert; O, bleu. . . ." He has been indicted for attempting to demolish the barriers that separate neatly the several arts, for confusing poetry with painting and music; for accelerating the dissolution of the French language, for a number of other esthetic, philological and moral sins. His sonnet has grown to be the very Symbol of Decadence. It is supposed to have thrown a spell over the modern poets of a dozen countries and to have inspired their anarchical attempts at painting with words through the orchestration of colored vowels! It deserves, then, richly the honor of a commentary, the more that none of the several biographers of Rimbaud has studied it with any degree of preciseness:

"A noir, E blanc, I rouge, U vert, O bleu, voyelles,
Je dirai quelque jour vos naissances latentes,
A, noir corset velu des mouches éclatantes
Qui bombillent autour des puanteurs cruelles,
Golfe d'ombre; E, candeur des vapeurs et des tentes,
Lance des glaciers fiers, rois blancs, frissons d'ombelles,
I, pourpre, sang craché, rire des lèvres belles
Dans la colère ou les ivresses pénitentes;
U, cycles, vibrations divins des mers virides,
Paix des pâtis semés d'animaux, paix des rides
Que l'alchimie imprime aux grands fronts studieux;
O, suprême Clairon plein de strideurs étranges,
Silences traversés des Mondes et des Anges,
—O, l'Oméga, rayon violet de ses Yeux!"

This variation upon the esthetic possibilities of the alphabet is a sign of contradiction in the criticism of modern poetry. It plays for the epoch of the Symbolists the same rôle as the unforgettable and unavoidable scarlet waistcoat of Théophile Gautier in the history of Romanticism: It has become the emblem of all the revealed and of all the hidden extravagance of which the Symbolists have been accused. Or, rather, it has played several rôles. It was and it is a standard joke for young journalists who just "break into literature"; it was a revelation and a gospel to many a young poet, penning his first *Symphony in Silver-grey and Apple-green*; it is to bewildered critics another horrifying example of the degeneration of modern life and art; it is to the psychologist a welcome document on *synesthesia*, on the association of sound and color, on color-audition. . . .

Yet, it merits neither this excess of honor, nor all this indignation. Rimbaud wrote it, not as his definite gospel of a new esthetics, but merely as the notation of a fleeting perception. E. Delahaye, his bosom friend, testifies: "Is it necessary to add that Rimbaud has never had the slightest intention of making this sensation the basis of a literary system? He said very simply—he, who was simple to the highest degree—: I believed that I saw, sometimes I believed that I felt, in that way, and I say so, I narrate it because I find that as interesting as anything else." (*Rimbaud*, 1905, p. 80, note 1.) And Gustave Kahn also stresses the fact that the sonnet represents but a document on a passing state of mind and feeling of Rimbaud: "Le sonnet des voyelles ne contient pas plus une esthétique qu'il n'est une gageure, une gaminerie pour étonner le bourgeois. Rimbaud traversa une phase où tout altéré de nouveauté poétique, il chercha dans les indications réunies sur les phénomènes d'audition colorée quelque rudiment d'une science des sonorités. Il vivait près de Charles Cros, à ce moment hanté de sa photographie des couleurs et qui put l'orienter vers des recherches de ce genre."¹ Rimbaud merely exaggerated in his sonnet, to the extreme and the paradoxical, the well-known fact that certain colors may vaguely suggest sound or music, or, vice-versa, that certain sounds evoke a tenuous sensation of

¹ *Symbolistes et Décadents*, p. 275.

coloration. We speak every day of a "loud necktie," a "shrieking color," of "mellow tones," without being suspected of a nervous ailment. Moreover, the poetical vocabulary of all periods shows traces of more or less clearly expressed synesthesia. Virgil speaks of "clamore incendere coelum, urbem," to set aflame the sky, the city by shrieking; he uses expressions as "incendere luctus," to kindle complaints. Examples from other poets are over-abundant.²

Verlaine has declared that the sonnet of Rimbaud was "un peu fumiste," that it was more or less of a joke; but it must be remembered that Verlaine was far less intellectual than Rimbaud, and that there were parts in the young poet's nature that escaped him. He agrees, in any case, that it was not intended as a new esthetic gospel. Gustave Kahn has treated it as "an amusing paradox, stressing one of the *possible* concordances of things," and not at all as definite system. And Rimbaud himself, far from proclaiming it as a positive theory, has made sport of it very soon after having written it: "History of one of my follies . . . I invented the color of the vowels! A black, E white, etc. . . . I regulated the correct use and the tempo of each consonant and, with the help of instinctive rhythms, I believed that I was inventing a poetic diction accessible, sooner or later, to all senses. . . . It was at first a study; I wrote down silences, nights; I noted the music of the inexpressible, I fixed vertigoes. . . . I reserved the rights of translation" (*Une Saison en Enfer*). The sonnet of the vowels was to Rimbaud but a half-serious phantasy, in which he believed but poetically, so to speak, and as long as the exaltation of the senses lasted. His own utterances prove that, if he believed in his theory, he did not believe in it long. It is entirely gratuitous to suppose that he intended this sonnet as the foundation of a new esthetics, in which sensuous refinement would be uppermost and destroy the life of the intellect.³

² The Sanscrit roots *Gha*, *gag* and *ghar* denote at the same time sound and color. Darmesteter notes of the root *su*, with the complementary roots *sphar*, *sta*, *stan*, *star*, *svak*, *svan*, etc.: "Cette racine et les racines qui en dépendent offrent parallèlement le sens de briller et celui de retentir, qui ont pour point de départ commun le sens de: éclater aux yeux et aux oreilles."

³ Rimbaud's evolution was steadily toward a more intellectualistic attitude of mind. See f. i. his *Chanson de la plus haute Tour*.

Moreover,—and this point seems to be of some importance in solving the riddle of the sonnet,—it is sufficient to read it carefully to perceive that even there the theory of the relation of sound to color has not been applied. Rimbaud does not rely upon the suggestion of color by means of sound, but upon the imaginative accumulation of colored objects, whatever the sound of the word that depicts them. Let us take the sound E (e), for instance:

“E candeur des vapeurs et des tentes,
Lance des glaciers fiers, rois blancs, frissons d'ombelles. . .”

The sound E (e) is represented but once in these lines, in the word *glaciers*. The suggestion of whiteness is not obtained through the orchestration of the sound e, but very traditionally, through the successive evocation of silvery-white and resplendent objects: mists and tents, the lances of the proud glaciers, white kings, shuddering clusters of blossoms. In fact, Rimbaud follows here no other method than Sainte-Beuve's in *Les Rayons jaunes*.

The whole poem is constructed in the same way. In the lines devoted to the vowel U (y) one discovers but one U (y) whereas the sound I (i) occurs at least a dozen times:

“U, cycles, vibrations divins des mers virides,
Paix des pâtis semés d'animaux, paix des rides
Que l'alchimie imprime aux grands fronts studieux. . .”

Some of the “disciples” of Rimbaud must have perceived that he did not put into practice his momentary theory of color-audition. A modern American poet, Mr. Gould Fletcher, has attempted to produce in English an improved edition of the sonnet in which he tried to apply consistently the theory of color and sound relation. Amy Lowell in her *Tendencies of Modern American Poetry* claims that Mr. Gould Fletcher is therefore more logically Rimbaud than Rimbaud himself.⁴ “There are dangerous disciples” as the proverb has it! It is always dangerous to give a corrected edition of the work of a man of deep originality or genius.

But a much more unpropitious “disciple” of Rimbaud is

⁴ P. 117.

René Ghil, who, in his *Traité du Verbe*, has taken the sonnet as the expression of a fixed system in which each letter, or each combination of letters, corresponded necessarily to certain colors. He aimed at the glory of becoming a "chef d'école," and expounded his ideas with the dogmatic intolerance of a leader. It is mainly because of his rather vociferous theorizing that the whole group of the French Symbolists has been accused of having gone mad on the powers of suggestion and of writing synesthetic verse, evoking only vague visions and tender-tinted dreams. But the sober truth is that there exists but very little verse of this nature in the abundant work of the Symbolists. Its principal representatives are almost entirely free of it. Moreover,—a point that is generally overlooked,—René Ghil was not one of the Symbolists. On the contrary, he founded his School and promulgated his new *Art Poétique* as a definite protest against their tenets. He has declared his intentions with sufficient emphasis:

"L'on me sait ennemi absolu, autant que des recommenceurs fades des maîtres romantiques et parnassiens, de ceux dits 'décadents et Symbolistes,' ambitions isolées et frappées d'impuissance, et qu'on décore improprement du titre d'Ecole. . . . C'est affirmer son impuissance qu'être Symboliste. . . . Et l'on voudrait dire que c'est l'Avenir, ça! l'Avenir qui sera tout à l'expérimentation, qui sera basé scientifiquement . . . etc."

He proclaimed himself Chief of an *Ecole évolutive-instrumentiste*, absolutely opposed to Verlaine, Mallarmé, Moréas and all the other Symbolists.⁵ He proclaimed the creation of an intellectualistic poetry, based upon the doctrine of Evolution and upon the physical theories of Helmholtz. And, in more marked contrast still with the Symbolists, he rejected the doctrine of Art for Art's sake to glorify a kind of social and humanitarian poetry: "Ce n'est plus l'art pour l'art. C'est l'art altruiste, en but humanitaire, pour le Mieux intellectuel et moral."⁶ His theories and his work do not prove that the tendencies of Symbolism were disastrous for life and art. If they prove anything at all beyond the fact that René Ghil was mistaken, it would be that some of its opponents were quite

⁵ Huret, *Enquête sur l'Evolution littéraire*, pp. 110-111.

⁶ Huret, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

extravagant in their reaction. In any case, Rimbaud cannot be held responsible for René Ghil's exaggerated systematizing of the color-audition of the *Sonnet des Voyelles*.

What is the origin of this famous sonnet? The phenomenon of association of sound and color which it describes is well known and has been abundantly studied. It is not at all a "terra incognita" where mysterious nervous diseases flourish. Rimbaud may have possessed the gift (or the short-coming, if you like) of being synesthetic. He may have had a rather permanent and constant perception of the relation between sound and color, or his sonnet may have been created by a more or less accidental esthetic impression, fleeting and uncertain. Or, again, it may have been suggested by his readings. Long before his time an imposing number of studies on color-audition had appeared and one of them may have called his attention to that phenomenon, whether he was personally more or less blessed with it or not. Moreover, he was acquainted with Charles Cros, who made a specialty of all studies on color-phenomena.

It is well known that already in 1650 the German Jesuit Anathasius Kircher held that if one could see the air when stirred by the melodies of songs and instruments, one would perceive a mingling of the most beautiful colors.⁷ Newton studied the phenomenon in his *Optics*,⁸ and with the universal fame which he soon obtained, these ideas became almost commonplace during the eighteenth century. Voltaire, whom nobody will accuse of being of a mystical, symbolist, decadent or even sentimental disposition, took over Newton's ideas on the subject, and expounded them with eulogy in his *Eléments de la Philosophie de Newton*. No undue prominence must be given to the invention of a color-organ by the original and paradoxical Father Castel, or to his project of constructing a *Clavecin des odeurs*, or, rather, *des parfums*. The color-organ was built in such a way that when a key was struck, at once a blind opened and strong lights projected on a white wall a certain color which harmonized with the sound of the note. The organ of perfumes performed the same service by opening and closing successively

⁷ *Musurgia universalis, sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni*, 1650.

⁸ Book I, Part II, Propositions 3 and 6.

a number of boxes of perfumes each of which corresponded to a musical sound. Father Castel had worked out a complete system of correspondences between sound and color, far more elaborate and dogmatic than Rimbaud's: "Green corresponds to *re*, and will make them (the audience) feel that this note *re* is natural, rural, sprightly, pastoral. Red, which corresponds to *sol*, will give them the idea of a warlike note, bloody, angry, terrible. Blue, corresponding to *do*, will give them the impression of a note that is noble, majestic, celestial, divine. . . ." The inventions of Father Castel are, however, nothing more and nothing else than the inventions of Father Castel, and from them nothing can be deduced for the indictment of modern poetry or modern life. Not only in the domain of synesthesia, but in several other domains did his restless and inventive mind evolve the most extraordinary paradoxes, a collection of which has been gathered as *Esprit, Saillies et Singularités du P. Castel* (1763). He had a natural impulse to the extreme and his theories cannot be taken as typical or representative. His other invention, that of a new wall-paper or tapestry, of which the colors would be blended in such way as to suggest the music of dances or even of entire operas, shows conclusively that he was generalizing from his own personal perceptions of the relations between sound and color, which are non-existent for the majority of other onlookers.

But what his "case" proves is that Rimbaud and the Symbolists have invented nothing whatsoever in the realm of synesthesia. They are not decadent because they referred to these uncertain and vague impressions: long before them both the practice and the theory of these "correspondences" had been carried much further than they ever dreamed of carrying them. Locke, whom no one will accuse of being decadent, speaks of a blind man who felt the blast of a trumpet as a splash of sharp-red color. In the works of the Romantic period the examples of color-audition are very numerous: one finds them in the works of Hoffmann, Tieck, Poe, Goethe, de Musset,⁹ de Nerval and in many others. Baudelaire's sonnet *Concordances* is well known; Sainte-Beuve wrote his *Rayons Jaunes*, a poem built

⁹ He had long discussions with his family on the color of the notes.

upon the successive images which yellow tints evoked in him.¹⁰

Yet, it may be argued, those "happy few" who perceive the tenuous relations between sound and color are unavoidably found among those sensitive souls that are, so to speak, born to Romanticism. Could one imagine more robust natures and sturdier minds approving of such delicate intertwining of sensations? Granting even that synesthesia is no indication of decadence or of a nervous disease, it is yet not the appanage of certain emotional and high-pitched natures without much intellectual vigor? Could one imagine intellectualists like Goethe or Voltaire as even conceiving of such subtle emotional complexities?

Now, Goethe belongs among the early sympathetic students of the phenomenon, and Voltaire accepted the theory without his habitual sarcastic scepticism toward anything transcending "common sense" experience. In his *Elémens de la Philosophie de Newton* (Ed. of 1738, p. 146) he describes the analogy between the tonalities of music and color and even adds a folding plate to illustrate the theory which he discovered in Newton. In his and Newton's system, *re* corresponds to violet; *mi* to purple; *fa* to blue; *sol* to green; *la* to yellow; *si* to orange, and *do* to red. Voltaire adds:

"Cette analogie secrète entre la lumière et le son, donne lieu de soupçonner que toutes les choses de la nature ont des rapports cachés, que peut-être on découvrira quelque jour. Il est déjà certain qu'il y a un rapport entre le Toucher et la Vue, puisque les couleurs dépendent de la configuration des parties; on prétend même qu'il y a eu des Aveugles-nés, qui distinguoient au toucher la différence du noir, du blanc et de quelques autres couleurs."

It must be noted that these additional embellishments on the theory of color-audition have been added by Voltaire himself and are not found in Newton's *Optics*.¹¹ It is rather fortunate that it is Voltaire who wrote this passage, for if it had been written by Verlaine, Mallarmé, Rimbaud or Baudelaire, it would have been interpreted by now as one of the major proofs of the decadence of modern poetry. Moreover, Voltaire even praised

¹⁰ See on this poem, Barre, *Le Symbolisme*, pp. 40-43.

¹¹ Voltaire, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-48.

Father Castel's color-organ, although with some reservations as to its practicality, and arrived at once to a saner appreciation of his theories than many a modern critic:

"Un philosophe ingénieux a voulu pousser ce rapport des sons et de la lumière peut-être plus loin qu'il ne semble permis aux hommes d'aller. Il a imaginé un clavecin oculaire qui doit faire paroître successivement des couleurs harmoniques, comme nos clavecins nous font entendre des sons: il y a travaillé de ses mains, il prétend enfin qu'on joueroit des airs aux yeux. On ne peut que remercier un homme qui cherche à donner aux autres de nouveaux arts et de nouveaux plaisirs. Il y a eu des Pays où le Public l'auroit récompensé. Il est à souhaiter, sans doute, que cette invention ne soit pas, comme tant d'autres, un effort ingénieux et inutile: ce passage rapide de plusieurs couleurs devant les yeux semble peut-être devoir étonner, éblouir et fatiguer la vue; nos yeux veulent peut-être du repos pour jouir de l'agrément des couleurs. Ce n'est pas assez de nous proposer un plaisir, il faut que la nature nous ait rendus capables de recevoir ce plaisir: c'est à l'expérience seule à justifier cette invention. En attendant il me semble que tout esprit équitable ne peut que louer l'effort et le génie de celui qui cherche à agrandir la carrière des Arts et de la Nature" (*op. cit.*, p. 168).

We catch here Voltaire approving ideas which in recent times have been considered specifically as Rousseauistic, as some of the multiple mistakes of taste for which Jean-Jacques has been made responsible by the modern crusaders against his doctrines and his influence. Professor Irving Babbitt in *The New Lagoon, An Essay on the Confusion of the Arts*, states (p. 173):

"The latest dictionary of music dismisses color-audition curtly by the remark that 'Rousseau's *Essay on the Origin of Language*, . . . gives the germ of subsequent absurdities regarding the alleged analogies between tones and colors.'¹² Rousseau says in this essay, it is true, that 'sounds are never more effective than when they produce the impression of colors'; and he is evidently on the way, like Diderot, to all our modern confusions."

So far Professor I. Babbitt. This opinion occupies an important place in his anti-Rousseauistic doctrine and serves to identify Jean-Jacques with some over-sensitive and complex forms of modern art. Yet, it is indeed astonishing that, in the

¹² Stokes' *Encyclopaedia of Music*, by L. J. de Bekker, p. 567. Rousseau's remark does not have the significance here attributed to it, as will be shown farther on.

incriminated *Essai sur l'origine des Langues*, Rousseau does not at all defend color-audition. On the contrary, in this very essay, Rousseau devotes a whole chapter to the *refutation* of color-audition. In contrast with Voltaire he disapproves as much of Father Castel's color-organ as any of the anti-Rousseauists. Professor Babbitt in his fundamental opposition to the confusion of music and painting agrees fully with Rousseau, but he disagrees with Voltaire. Rousseau said:

"Fausse analogie entre les couleurs et les sons.—Il n'y a sortes d'absurdités auxquelles les observations physiques n'aient donné lieu dans la considération des beaux arts. On a trouvé dans l'analyse du son les mêmes rapports que dans celle de la lumière. Aussitôt on a saisi vivement cette analogie, sans s'embarrasser de l'expérience et de la raison. L'esprit de système a tout confondu, et faute de savoir peindre aux oreilles on s'est avisé de chanter aux yeux. J'ai vu ce fameux clavecin sur lequel on prétendoit faire de la musique avec des couleurs. C'étoit bien mal connoître les opérations de la nature, de ne pas voir que l'effet des couleurs est dans leur permanence, et celui des sons dans leur succession."

"Toutes les richesses du coloris s'étalent à la fois sur la face de la terre. Du premier coup-d'oeil tout est vu; mais plus on regarde et plus on est enchanté. Il ne faut plus qu'admirer et contempler sans cesse. Il n'en est pas ainsi du son: la nature ne l'analyse point et n'en sépare point les harmoniques; elle les cache au contraire sous l'apparence de l'unisson, ou, si quelquefois elle les sépare dans le chant modulé de l'homme et dans le ramage de quelques oiseaux, c'est successivement et l'un après l'autre: elle inspire des chants et non des accords, elle dicte la mélodie et non de l'harmonie. . . . Ainsi chaque sens a son champ qui lui est propre. Le champ de la musique est le temps, celui de la peinture est l'espace. Multiplier les sons entendus à la fois, ou développer les couleurs l'une après l'autre, c'est changer leur économie, c'est mettre l'oeil à la place de l'oreille et l'oreille à la place de l'oeil."

The rôle which Rousseau assigns to music is not the refinement of our sensations, but the creation of "moral feelings."¹² The fact that Rousseau has been accused of having been the father of the whole "movement" in favor of synesthesia, when, as a matter of fact, he was one of its most outspoken opponents, shows that, after all, when writing about Rousseau it may be

¹² See Rousseau's *Essai sur l'origine des Langues*, Chapters XV and XVI.

advisable to read his works with impartiality. This truism seems to have been forgotten by a number of his modern critics, who seem to take a singular pleasure in setting up a kind of a scare-crow Rousseau and in hanging over its frame any rag of discarded or dangerous doctrine that happens to arouse their ire.

The relation between sound and color was, then, a kind of common-place which the Symbolists inherited from the Romantics, but which, on the whole, they did not carry any further than their models had done. The Romantics derived their formulation of the theory largely from 18th century scientists. The most striking feature of the rather numerous theories on synesthesia is that nearly everyone of the authors who referred to it associated a different color or tint with each different sound or vowel. And it is exactly because these individual impressions remain so vague, so unstable and ultra-personal, that they are poetically of but little value and cannot be used as the basis for an Esthetics of the Word. But synesthesia is no symptom of a nervous disease; it furnishes no indication of a lack of mental equipoise; it has nothing to do with the notion of decadence in life and art. It seems necessary to stress this point, since it is one of the major arguments used to stigmatize modern poetry as decadent. Even A. Barre, whose attitude is so far more sympathetic than that of a Brunetière, exclaims: "Seuls en nos temps d'intensifs névropathes ont la faculté de percevoir des sons colorés." He classifies definitely all synesthesia among the "observations pathologiques" (*Le Symbolisme*, p. 307). A decadent literature is by definition moribund and some critics seem to have resolved that it shall expire "according to the rules," and with due aid and diagnosis of the medical faculty. Max Nordau has politely compared the modern poet, who is incarnated in des Esseintes, with the cirripedia, a sacculus "which lives in the condition of a parasite in the intestinal canal of certain crustacea."¹⁴ He explains modern literature from 1860 on mainly through the psychology of the idiot and the imbecile.¹⁵ It is, of course, obvious that these gallant pronouncements shed a blinding light upon the poetry of Henri de

¹⁴ *Degeneration*, p. 309, note.

¹⁵ *Degeneration*, pp. 282-284.

Régner or Francis Jammes!¹⁶ Prof. Babbitt's chapter on color-audition¹⁷ is very partial. Statements that "color-audition has found literary expression only in those who belong to what we may term the *neurotic school*," betray at once that his point of view on modern poetry is not fundamentally different from that of Max Nordau: He also believes in the myth of degeneration.

It is remarkable, however, that the real scientists do not share the alarmed attitude of these critics about synesthesia. I hasten to quote some authorities: Dr. Henry Lee Smith in his study on *Synesthesia* (*Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin*, Vol. XVI, No. 172, July, 1905) discusses the problem from the medical point of view:

"Color hearing or sound seeing, as it is sometimes called, is among the rarer types of associated sensations. It is the constant and involuntary visualization of color associated with some definite sound. Goethe and Hoffmann were among the early observers who referred to the existence in certain people of this peculiar faculty. Sachs in 1812 published an account of the phenomenon as possessed by himself and his sister (Sachs, *Inaugural Dissertation*, Erlangen, 1812). Nussbaumer first excited general interest in the subject by a description of his own case before one of the scientific societies in Vienna. An eminent neurologist, who was present, considered his sensations as pathological and predicted some oncoming mental disturbance. Nussbaumer, however, remained well.¹⁸ In 1881, Bleuler and Lehman, the former of whom had the idiosyncrasy, reported the result of their inquiries among 596 normal individuals. They found that 12.8 per cent of these were more or less synesthetic. Among other observers may be mentioned Galton and Fechner, and, in America, Baldwin and Miss Calkins. Flournoy's book *Des Phénomènes de Synopsie*, 1893, contains a most exhaustive study of the subject."

Dr. Smith concludes in his study that the cases he observed were apparently hereditary, but that they did in no way indicate disease. I may add that the same conclusion was reached independently by Dr. Suarez de Mendoza in his interesting

¹⁶ Although Max Nordau's pseudo-science has but little weight, his exaggerations are indicative of a state of opinion which is still quite prevalent.

¹⁷ In *The New Laokoon*, 1910.

¹⁸ Nussbaumer, *Ueber subjectiv. Farben-Empfindungen*, etc., *Wien. Med. Woch.*, 1873.

volume *L'Audition colorée, étude sur les fausses sensations secondaires physiologiques et particulièrement sur les pseudo-sensations de couleurs associées aux perceptions objectives des sons* (Paris, 1890). He reports long lists of experiments, especially about the color of the vowels. Some of the impressions registered agree with the colors which Rimbaud attributes to the several vowels in his sonnet. The conclusion is again that synesthesia is a rather rare phenomenon, but not a symptom of mental aberration or physical disease. In 1892, Dr. Jules Millet presented to the University of Montpellier a thesis on the subject confirming again the results of his predecessors. These exhaustive studies by competent medical investigators establish, then, beyond any reasonable doubt that the association of sound and color is merely a rare psychological experience and that from its occurrence nothing more tragical can be concluded than: "Let those rejoice who were happily born."

Another and a different solution of the riddle of Rimbaud's sonnet has been proposed. In the *Mercure de France* (1904) Ernest Gaubert pointed to the existence of a certain A. B. C. book of the past century, in which the several vowels are printed in sharp colors: A, in black; E, in yellow; I, in red; U, in green; O, in blue. He argues that it is quite possible that Rimbaud learned his letters from such a spelling-book, and that, when he wrote his sonnet, he simply remembered the colors of the vowels as he once saw them printed. Although the correspondence between the colors of the printed vowels and those in Rimbaud's sonnet is remarkable, there is no proof that Rimbaud ever saw this particular A. B. C. book. The similitude of coloration may only be an accident. Another difficulty with this explanation is that it is not scientific. Ten years earlier, in 1894, Dr. Calman had shown, in the *Lancet* (*Color-hearing*, 1894 and 1898), that the spelling-books used to teach letters to children bear no direct relation to the phenomenon of color-audition. He brings out the fact that in the same family several members were synesthetic and attributed different colors to the several vowels, although they had learned their letters from the same illustrated spelling book.

In any case, Rimbaud did not need the suggestion from an

A. B. C. book to write his sonnet. If he was not himself gifted with synesthesia, he may have read one of the medical studies on the subject; or he may have found the initial idea in the works of Newton, Goethe, Voltaire, Baudelaire or of several Romanticists. The phenomenon of color-audition,—normal, if rare,—was so generally known by 1870 that, if Rimbaud needed a stimulus from the external world for the genesis of his poem, it could have come to him from many sides and in varied ways. The famous sonnet is merely the notation of a rather fleeting state of feeling in Rimbaud, not a new esthetic gospel. It must not be forever condemned to the rôle of a pathetic example of our general degeneration, of the profound perversion that punishes an unbridled indulgence in the confusion of the several arts. Its real significance lies in its undeniable esthetic quality and in its value as a psychological document on Rimbaud's artistic evolution. It will remain as a very personal interpretation of a rather traditional theme. It reveals the deep reverberations of poetry in the boy-poet, Rimbaud, but it does not in the least prove that a mysterious nervous ailment had attacked him. Above all, it constitutes no evidence that a progressive spiritual weakness preyed insidiously upon modern poetry and modern life in general.

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MATELDA: A STUDY IN MULTIPLE ALLEGORY

ALTHOUGH the chief pleasure of interpreting the *Divine Comedy* will always lie in the quite different task of setting forth one's personal philosophy, there is something to be said for a less "creative" attempt to understand Dante's poem as he wanted it to be understood. This work is to be explained, if at all, not through modern scholarship and modern criticism, but through medieval scholarship and medieval criticism. The present writer's knowledge is far too slight to permit him to regard the entire *Comedy*, or even one canticle of it, from the medieval viewpoint. He will, however, try to give a cross-section of Dante's allegorical scheme as represented in a single character: Matelda, the presiding genius of the Earthly Paradise.¹

The earlier commentators identified Matelda with the historical Matilda, Grancontessa of Tuscany (1046-1115). Some later critics, who do not share Dante's perverse interest in Italian history, have rejected this idea. Professor Grandgent observes that "the Countess, an august, almost masculine personage, whose mature years rather than her youth were stamped on tradition, has nothing but her name in common with our lady."² He asks, in short, how the young, beautiful, idyllic creature of *Purgatory* XXVIII can represent the old, rich, practical noblewoman.

To this one might rejoin that since the Earthly Paradise represents the youth of the world, it may also represent the youth of Matilda. A more serious answer, however, is that in medieval allegory the symbol and the thing symbolized need resemble each other only in the respects in which they are, at a

¹ Even this limited attempt was made possible only by the kindness of Professor Jefferson B. Fletcher, who provided the author with materials and suggestions, and to whose conception of the *Comedy* this study is a mere pendant. Translations used in this study are: Temple Classics, *Divine Comedy*; Rossetti, *Vita Nuova*; Henry, *De Monarchia*; Latham, *Letter to Can Grande*. Translations of passages in *Convito* and theological authors are taken chiefly from Professor Fletcher's unpublished notes, and from Gardner's *Dante and the Mystics*.

² *The Ladies of Dante's Lyrics*; Cambridge, 1917; p. 60.

given time and place, to be compared. Even nowadays, when we say to a lagging child, "You're a perfect snail!" we do not mean to imply that the child has horns, and lives in a convoluted shell. And in the Middle Ages, the tendency to base comparisons upon a single point of contact was much stronger than at present, a fact which explains why medieval imagery so often strikes us as incongruous. Christ has a strange, sweet attraction for men; the panther draws other animals to him by his sweet breath. Despite the thousands of respects in which the panther is *not* like Christ, this single respect in which he *is* like Christ was sufficient foundation for the familiar allegory of bestiary literature.

Dante's allegory is thoroughly medieval. It is an allegory of functions, not of entire biographies. To express a given quality, he uses any person or creature possessing that quality, although otherwise the analogy may be far from perfect. Moreover, the same character may typify opposed qualities. Caesar represents both that great imperial office for assaulting which Brutus and Cassius writhe in the mouths of Satan, and predatory greed. We need not, therefore, insist upon Matelda's being a pretty girl if any one good reason can be found for identifying her with the Grancontessa.

Fraticegli, Scartazzini and others object on political grounds to this political identification. For them, the fact that the historical Matilda supported Pope Gregory against Henry IV is enough to throw her out of court. But Dante was no hard-and-fast Ghibelline. He sided with the imperial party in order to restore that balance between the things of Caesar and the things of God without which the peace for which he longed could not be attained. His loyalty to the *spiritual* leadership of the papacy cannot be questioned.³ The temporal pretensions of Boniface VIII are to be resisted, but Anagni's impiety toward the pontiff must be rebuked.⁴ The treatise *De Monarchia* reaches the conclusion that imperial authority is derived directly from God, and not from the Pope. "But," says Dante, "the truth of this final question must not be restricted to mean that

³ Observe the following references to "the keys": *Inf.* XIX, 90-101; *Inf.* XXVII, 103; *Par.* XXIII, 136; *Par.* XXIV, 34; *Par.* XXVII, 46; *Par.* XXXII, 124.

⁴ *Purg.* XX, 85-96.

the Roman Prince shall not be subject in some degree to the Roman Pontiff, for felicity that is mortal is ordered in a measure after felicity that is immortal. Wherefore let Caesar honor Peter as a first-born son should honor his father, so that, refulgent with the light of paternal grace, he may illumine with greater radiance the earthly sphere over which he has been set by Him who alone is Ruler of all things spiritual and temporal." ⁵

Now Henry IV certainly did not "honor Peter as a first-born son should honor his father." Against just protest, he insisted on appointing Church officials, and was insolent toward Gregory. Matilda's resistance of Henry would therefore be heartily approved by Dante. Her opposition to Henry was based on the very principle that underlay Dante's opposition to Boniface.

Nor can it be said that Matilda, in her bounty toward the Holy See, repeated the Error of Constantine. Constantine's gifts put *temporal* power in the hands of the Pope; Matilda's bequests were intended to strengthen the *religious* prerogatives of the Pope. Unfortunately, Gregory was forced to combat worldly presumption with worldly weapons, but in such matters Dante was a pragmatist. Matilda's gifts, he would have felt, were worthily given and worthily received.

The arguments against the Grancontessa are of much less force than the arguments in her favor. The Earthly Paradise is simply the *selva salvaggia* of *Inferno* I, transformed. Dante is readmitted to the wood, and finds it a garden, lifted up from sin to the mountain-peak of purity and righteousness. The underbrush of evil has been pruned away, and fruitful trees make a green shade where birds sing. The prophecy of Virgil has come true: "The world is renewed; justice returns, and the first age of man." ⁶ In the *Paradiso*, the wood is to undergo still another transformation: it will become the Garden of the Divine Rose. ⁷

In the political allegory of the poem, the *selva salvaggia* of *Inferno* I is the degenerate Florence of Dante's own day. That

⁵ III, xvi, 9.

⁶ *Purg.* XXII, 70-73.

⁷ *Par.* XXIII et seq.

Florence is also set before us in the city of fallen angels who deny admittance to the poet of imperial Rome and his disciple.⁸ In the *Paradiso*, Florence becomes merged in the great City of God. The Florence at the summit of Mount Purgatory represents an intermediate stage: Florence as it once was, Florence as it must be again.

This Florence of the purified Active Life, as we might call it, is the city ruled over by the Grancontessa Matilda. It is described by Cacciaguida⁹ in terms that strongly suggest the tradition of the Golden Age. Simplicity and natural virtue characterized the home of Dante's ancestors. "Florence . . . abode in peace, sober and chaste."¹⁰ The absence of corrupting luxury is especially stressed: "There was no chain or coronet, nor dames decked out. . . . Wedding day and dowry evaded not the measure on this side and on that. . . . Bellincion Berti have I seen go girt with bone and leather, and his dame come from her mirror with unpainted face."¹¹ In short,

"A blisful lyf, a paisible and swete,
Ledden the peples in the former age;
.
They ne were nat forpampred with outrage."¹²

These lines of Chaucer's come to mind because Cacciaguida's account of Florence under Matilda agrees so exactly with the familiar Arcadianism of Ovid, Boethius and their imitators. Matelda, in welcoming Dante, Virgil and Statius to her garden, draws the obvious parallel between the Earthly Paradise and the Golden Age.¹³ Matelda's garden is the Golden Age; the Grancontessa Matilda ruled in the Golden Age of Florence, when the Tree of Justice sent forth leaves.

The Earthly Paradise, as a part of "circular nature,"¹⁴ moves in cycles. Man does not come back from somewhere else to the lost Eden; Eden itself comes back to him at certain

⁸ *Inf.* VIII, IX, X.

⁹ *Par.* XV-XVII.

¹⁰ *Par.* XV, 97-99.

¹¹ *Ib.*, 100 ff.

¹² Chaucer's *The Former Age*, derived from Boethius and the *Romance of the Rose*.

¹³ *Purg.* XXVIII, 136-144.

¹⁴ *Par.* VIII, 127.

stages of human history. On the religious plane, one such stage is the human birth of Christ; the next is his second coming. Both events are "figured" by the advent of Beatrice, symbol of Christ's love. In preparation for the second coming, the world must be purified through a return of its own springtime. In the political allegory also the Earthly Paradise is both reminiscent and prophetic: reminiscent of the old, happy days of Dante's ancestors, prophetic of what Florence is to become. "And as the rolling of the lunar heaven covereth and layeth bare the shores incessantly, so fortune doth to Florence."¹⁵

Sinful Florence, like the sinful world, awaits a redeemer. The deliverer announced to Dante in Beatrice's "hard riddle"¹⁶ is Can Grande della Scala. The young Lord of Verona was descended from a line under whom Verona had enjoyed such peace and well-being as existed in Florence in the days of Matilda. As Vicar Imperial to Henry VII, he had brought the *pax Romana* to town after town of Lombardy. Next he should humble Florence, sower of the seed of disaffection,¹⁷ as Joshua humbled Jericho. In being the saviour of Florence, he will be the saviour of Dante prophesied by Cacciaguida.¹⁸ This scion of the Scaligeri is the "ladder"¹⁹ by means of which Dante will climb back to his city. He is the *deus ex machina* of Dante's personal "comedy." It is in preparation for his coming, and in prophetic anticipation of what his influence will be, that Matilda's age is renewed in Florence. In this redeemed *selva selvaggia*, Dante must for a while be a *silvano* (forester) before he joins Beatrice in "that Rome whereof Christ is a Roman."²⁰

Several other interesting facts remain to be noted. Since, as will later be apparent, Matilda resembles John the Baptist in various respects, it is important to remember that Christ's precursor was patron saint of Florence.²¹

Speaking of the Earthly Paradise, Matilda says, "Qui fu innocente l'umana radice."²² Later, Cacciaguida, spokesman

¹⁵ *Par.* XVI, 82-84.

¹⁶ *Purg.* XXXIII, 34 ff.

¹⁷ *Par.* IX, 127-132.

¹⁸ *Par.* XVII, 70-72.

¹⁹ *Epist.* X, par. 2.

²⁰ *Purg.* XXXII, 100-103.

²¹ *Par.* XVI, 25.

²² *Purg.* XXVIII, 142.

of Florence's age of innocence, will say to Dante, "Io fui la tua radice."²³ Dante is a limb of the forest where grows the Tree of Imperial Justice.

In the classical tradition, the Golden Age is lost largely through the impious greed of men. For Dante, the greatest sin of all is cupidity, in its broadest sense as meaning any hasty, perverse, misdirected or unideal desire. Cupidity, Cacciaguida shows, ruined the Golden Age of Florence. Can Grande, the appointed deliverer of Florence, is represented as free from this vice: "Sparkles of his virtue shall appear in carelessness of silver and of toils."²⁴

It is at least possible to say, then, that the claims of the Grancontessa Matilda cannot be dismissed with a wave of the hand. The Earthly Paradise has a political meaning, and the historical Matilda, ruler of Florence in its Golden Age, fits this meaning perfectly.

There is, of course, another meaning. And it is convenient that, just when we wish to rise to another plane of allegory, the lady's name should melt away before our eyes. Spelled backward, "Matelda" gives *ad Letham*: she is the lady who leads Dante to *Lethé*.²⁵ We cannot be sure that this is more than a coincidence; but we can be sure that the coincidence would have struck Dante as deeply significant. "Names are the consequences of things."²⁶

According to Gardner, the theory that identifies Matelda with some lady of the *Vita Nuova* "has mainly sentimental reasons to recommend it."²⁷ Since Dante's mysticism is simply the love-philosophy of the *Vita Nuova* purified and intensified, with certain theological increments, such a remark from such a source is difficult to explain. Dante would be perplexed, one feels, by both Professor Grandgent and Professor Gardner. The former, interested in the *Vita Nuova* ladies, will pay no attention to the political aspect of Matelda; the latter, interested in the two Mechtilds, regards consideration of the *Vita Nuova*

²³ *Par.* XV, 89.

²⁴ *Par.* XVII, 83-84. Cf. *Inf.* I, 103.

²⁵ In classical Latin, the word is declined as in Greek; but Dante, with his ignorance of Greek, would probably have associated it with the Latin *a*-declension.

²⁶ *Vita Nuova*, XIII, 20-21.

²⁷ *Dante and the Mystics*; London, 1912; p. 272.

in this connection as sentimental. Such partiality implies a viewpoint very different from that which Dante himself brought back from the Garden of the Rose, where all life was one.

Of the *Vita Nuova* ladies, by far the likeliest candidate is Giovanna-Primavera. Let us analyze her claims. *Vita Nuova* XXIV relates that Dante, on a certain day, felt the spirit of Love enter his heart, and soon after beheld approaching him

"a certain lady who was very famous for her beauty, and of whom that friend whom I have already called the first among my friends²⁸ had long been enamoured. This lady's right name was Joan; but because of her comeliness (or at least it was so imagined) she was called of many *Primavera*, and went by that name among them. Then looking again, I perceived that the most noble Beatrice followed after her."

Within the heart of Dante, Love explains this incident:

"She that came first was called Spring, only because of that which was to happen on this day. And it was I myself who caused that name to be given her; seeing that as the Spring cometh first in the year, so should she come first on this day, when Beatrice was to show herself after the vision of her servant. And even if thou go about to consider her right name, it is also as one should say, 'She shall come first';²⁹ inasmuch as her name, Joan, is taken from that John who went before the True Light, saying: '*Ego vox clamantis in deserto: Parate viam Domini.*' . . . He who should inquire delicately touching this matter, could not but call Beatrice by mine own name, which is to say, Love; beholding her so like unto me."

The sonnet written on this occasion takes a much simpler view of the matter. It concludes:

"I chanced to look the way he [Love] had drawn near,
And saw the Ladies Joan and Beatrice
Approach me, this the other following;
One and a second marvel instantly.
And even as now my memory speaketh this,
Love spake it then: 'The first is christen'd Spring;
The second, Love, she is so like to me.'"

Here, instead of the elaborate allegory, is a pleasantly conventional juxtaposition of two fair girls as Spring and Love.

²⁸ Guido Cavalcanti.

²⁹ ciò è prima verrà.

Rossetti's note on this passage explains that Dante is "suppressing from delicacy toward his friend, the words in which love describes Joan as merely the forerunner of Beatrice." But this is getting the cart before the horse: the poem is the primary document, and it displays Monna Vanna and Monna Bice as two "marvels" of approximately equal, and seemingly complementary, loveliness. In the prose text, this rather indiscriminate but quite natural gallantry must be explained to accord with the deeper, more mature Beatrice-philosophy.

The most sensible and human interpretation of the *Vita Nuova* is that after Beatrice's death a great spiritual love arose in Dante, and that in the light of this mystical passion he reinterpreted the poetry of "gay science" written in days when Beatrice was only one of several "ladies who have intelligence of love." The book is a "new life" in being a new version of the old life. Is it possible, for example, to take the "screen lady" quite seriously? Is not this story concocted to explain and absorb into the Beatrice legend an earlier, or more probably a parallel, poetic love-affair? It is difficult to take at its face value Dante's elaborate account of why he *seemed* for a time to be interested in someone else. How much easier to suppose that he *was*, *dolce stilistically* speaking, interested in someone else!

To imagine that Giovanna is the "screen lady" is not inherently absurd. It is quite natural that Dante should have felt a sentimental interest in his friend's beautiful mistress, and quite natural that as the pure star of Beatrice arose he should wish to display his connection with the two women, and their relation to each other, in a way that would exalt Monna Bice without doing injustice to Monna Vanna. His method of achieving this aim is ingenious. As John the Baptist, Vanna is placed in the position of saying: "There cometh after me one that is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose."³⁰ On the other hand, she can hardly complain of her lofty rôle as the forerunner of very Love.

It is impossible to prove that Vanna is the "screen lady." Nothing is known of her apart from the statement given in

³⁰ Mark I, 7.

Vita Nuova XXIV, that she was for a time the lady-love of Guido Cavalcanti. This fact is substantiated in the famous "Boast of Love" sonnet, No. XXXII, addressed to Guido by Dante, which couples three men and three women: Dante and Beatrice, Lapo and Lagia, Guido and Vanna. But whether Vanna is the "screen lady" or not, Dante's allegorical treatment of her in relation to Beatrice proves her to be a person of great importance, and not unworthy of a place in the *Divine Comedy*.

Since Guido Cavalcanti was Dante's precursor in poetry,³¹ it is appropriate that Guido's lady-love—his earthly muse, as it were—should be made the precursor of Beatrice. Lorenzo de' Medici, in his confession of love imitated from the *Vita Nuova*, declares that he was induced to seek a lady-love by the charm and fame of his brother's mistress.³² May not Dante have been similarly inspired to exalt Beatrice in his poetry by the relations between Guido and Vanna? In that case, Vanna would be the precursor of Beatrice in an especially significant sense.

The hypothesis that Matelda is Giovanna-Primavera is based upon four closely related arguments:

1. Matelda is exactly the sort of person who in real life would be nicknamed "Primavera." She suggests budding youth, beauty, innocence, high spirits. She goes along singing and picking flowers.³³ From her appearance, Dante infers that she warms herself at love's beams.³⁴ When she turns around, it is as if she were dancing.³⁵ She likes to smile, and does it beautifully.³⁶ She sings *Beati, quorum tecta sunt peccata* "like a lady in love."³⁷ She is compared to a nymph of the olden times.³⁸ She calls Dante "Brother mine," turning full round to him.³⁹ Yet she is never "otherwise than a virgin that droppeth her modest eyes."⁴⁰ Might she not have been the lady-love of Guido Cavalcanti?

³¹ *Purg.* XI, 97-99.

³² *Sonetti e Canzoni, Comento*, section 6.

³³ *Purg.* XXVIII, 40-42.

³⁴ *Ib.*, 43-44.

³⁵ *Ib.*, 52-54.

³⁶ *Ib.*, 67 and 76.

³⁷ *Purg.* XXIX, 1-3.

³⁸ *Ib.*, 4-6.

³⁹ *Ib.*, 15.

⁴⁰ *Purg.* XXVIII, 56-57.

2. More specifically, the Earthly Paradise is a vernal spot, and Matelda herself is the very spirit of spring. "What strikes one most in this passage," says Grandgent, referring to Canto XXVIII and the opening of XXIX, "is the vernal atmosphere, the merging of the lady into the springtime, or rather, perhaps, the embodiment of springtime in the lady."⁴¹ Eden is mankind's spring, and Matelda is its presiding genius. The poet says to her:

"Tu mi fai rimembrar, dove e qual era
Proserpina nel tempo che perdette
la madre lei, ed ella primavera."⁴²

Here Dante conveniently supplies us with the lady's name. Later, she uses it herself, when, referring to the Earthly Paradise, she says, "qui primavera è sempre."⁴³ Moreover, the Proserpina story represents the tragic intermittence of Spring, so that in likening Matelda to Proserpina, Dante is likening her to Spring. Moore feels that *primavera*, literally taken, here means the flowers of Spring that Proserpina had been gathering; and according to Scartazzini, a kind of daisy is in Tuscany called *primavera*.⁴⁴ This reading would only increase the delicacy and tenderness of the allusion to Vanna.

This important passage may also be interpreted in a way that detracts from the force of Grandgent's statement: "Dante apparently knew Giovanna so well that he should have recognized her, even in the Earthly Paradise; whereas, in his account of his meeting with the 'beauteous lady,' there is no trace of recognition."⁴⁵ But if Vanna is Spring, and Proserpina is Spring, Dante is saying to the vernal Matelda, "You remind me of Vanna."

Another question raised by Grandgent is that Matelda must be a departed spirit, and that we do not know that Vanna was dead in 1300, the dramatic date of the *Comedy*. The most Grandgent can offer for his final candidate, the young lady of *Vita Nuova* VIII, is that she is certified dead.⁴⁶ But may not

⁴¹ *Ladies of Dante's Lyrics*, pp. 52-53.

⁴² XXVIII, 49-51.

⁴³ *Ib.*, 143.

⁴⁴ Vernon, *Readings on the Purgatorio of Dante*; London, 1889; Vol. II, p. 290.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

the above-quoted lines from *Purgatory* XXVIII indicate that Vanna also is dead? Dante says not merely, "You remind me of Vanna," but "You remind me of what Vanna was before she died."

3. As a lovely woman, Matelda comes before the still more lovely woman, Beatrice. The external situation reminds us of *Vita Nuova* XXIV.

4. Allegorized, Matelda is the forerunner of Beatrice, as John the Baptist is the forerunner of Christ, who is Divine Love. The relations between the two women were already allegorized in the *Vita Nuova*, and they are simply carried over into the *Comedy*. Matelda is *primavera*—Spring; and *prima vera*—she shall come first. Perhaps she is also *prima vera*—the first true one. She meets Dante, and guides him through Eden to the Divine Pageant in which Beatrice appears. She prepares Dante for the authentic revelation of the Divine spirit in Beatrice. Most important of all, she literally baptizes Dante:

"She had drawn me into the river up to my neck, and, pulling me after her, went along over the water light as a shuttle. When I was nigh unto the blessed bank, '*Asperges me*' so sweetly I heard that I cannot remember it much less describe it. The fair lady opened her arms, clasped my head, and dipped me where I must needs swallow of the water."⁴⁷

More explicit proof could not be demanded. Matelda, like Vanna, plays John the Baptist in relation to Beatrice.

The claims of Giovanna-Primavera, then, are equal to those of the Grancontessa. They are no better and no worse—simply on a different allegorical plane. Though distinct, the two planes are harmoniously related. Monna Vanna is likened to John the Baptist, and John the Baptist is patron saint of Countess Matilda's city. Again, the Golden Age—the springtime—of Florence was the reign of Matilda; hence the historical personage is related to the vernal theme. The Countess also agrees with the theological conception. In the revival of her Florence, Dante will devote himself to the Active Life, in preparation for the Contemplative. Other correspondences will be noted later.

These two identifications are by no means mutually exclusive. Very probably Dante had both persons in mind when he

⁴⁷ *Purg.* XXXI, 94-102.

created the character. He uses the name Matelda to give a clue to the political allegory, which otherwise, in this part of the poem, would be somewhat obscure. The name occurs only once,⁴⁸ and, as we have seen, there are plenty of hints pointing to Vanna.

But why should not one or both of the Mechtilds be included? For a discussion of their claims, the reader must turn to Professor Gardner.⁴⁹ It has not been shown that the sometimes remarkable similarities between their work and Dante's may not be due to a common dependence upon standard mystical authors. Matelda sings *Beati, quorum tecta sunt peccata* "like a lady in love."⁵⁰ This suggests the very strong eroticism of Mechtildis of Hackeborn, but the point is a slight one, and no dependence should be placed upon it. We do not really need the nuns, as Vanna herself will "carry" the mystical allegory. But if it is ever proved that Dante knew about the Mechtilds, we can cheerfully add them to the allegory. The correspondence in the names would surely appeal to Dante as significant.

This method of interpreting the allegory by planes is completely justified by the *Letter to Can Grande*.⁵¹ "The aim of the whole and of the part," Dante informs his patron, "is to remove those living in this life from a state of misery and to guide them to a state of happiness."⁵² But this aim, the poet has previously said, "may be manifold; that is to say, near and remote." The "near" aim is the restoration of a peaceful and well-governed Florence like that of Matilda. The "remote" aim is the salvation of the human soul through contact with the divine spirit, in preparation for which mystical experience the ministrations of Matelda in her Baptist rôle are needed.

As we begin thus to divide Dante's aim, we realize that each of the two divisions exists for the sake of the other. At present, politics and religion are so widely sundered that many critics are tempted to regard the *Comedy* as a theological love-poem

⁴⁸ *Purg.* XXXIII, 119.

⁴⁹ *Dante and the Mystics*, Chap. VIII.

⁵⁰ *Purg.* XXIX, 1-3.

⁵¹ Assuming, with Moore, Toynbee, Gardner and most other authorities, that this work is authentic.

⁵² *Ep.* X, par. 15.

rather disturbingly peppered with historical allusions. But may we not listen to Dante?

"Now the *kind of philosophy* under which we proceed in the whole and in the part is moral philosophy or ethics; because the whole was undertaken not for speculation but for practice. For although in some place or passage it may be handled in the manner of speculative philosophy, this is not for the sake of speculative philosophy, but for the sake of practical needs." ⁵³

"The aim of Dante's mysticism," says Gardner, "is to make spiritual experience a force for the reformation of mankind." ⁵⁴ For Dante, the reformation of mankind depended on the reformation of Italian politics. Of several passages which might be used to support this point, we may select that in which Cacciaguida first addresses Dante, with a tenderness like that of Anchises "when in Elysium he perceived his son." At his words, Dante says, "I turned back my sight unto my Lady, and on this side and on that I was bemazed; for in her eyes was blazing such a smile, I thought with mine I had touched the bottom both of my grace and of my Paradise." ⁵⁵ The moment when Dante meets his ancestor is thus associated with the very pinnacle of mystic experience.

Later, after the vision of the happy warriors in Canto XVIII, Dante turned again to Beatrice, and "saw her eyes so clear, so joyous, that her semblance surpassed all former usage and the last." ⁵⁶ These inspiring examples of patriotic valor, then, find direct correspondence in the blazing eyes of Love. "Make thy entire vision manifest," is Cacciaguida's command to the poet. ⁵⁷ He has tried to do so, but we seem interested only in the fragments. It is hard for us to realize that the Jacob's ladder of contemplation rising from the seventh splendor ⁵⁸ may also be the ladder on the scutcheon of Can Grande, by means of which Dante will climb back to a place of honor and influence in Florence. Our world has fallen apart; but to Dante, the

⁵³ *Ib.*, par. 16.

⁵⁴ *Dante and the Mystics*, p. 323.

⁵⁵ *Par.* XV, 25-33.

⁵⁶ *Par.* XVIII, 55-57.

⁵⁷ *Par.* XVII, 128.

⁵⁸ *Par.* XXI, 28 ff. For the mystical explanation, see Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 304-305.

"near" and "remote" aims represented by Matelda are two aspects of one thing.

"The meaning of this work," the poet informs Can Grande, "is not simple, but rather can be said to be of many significations."⁵⁹ There follows the familiar list of methods of expounding a text: literal, allegorical, moral and anagogical.⁶⁰ These may be applied to Matelda.

1. *Literal*.—An account of the actions of the poem just as they stand would constitute the literal interpretation.

2. *Allegorical*.—In general, this term applies to all the non-literal senses. Specifically, it seems to apply to the truths which lie nearest the surface of the fiction. The foreground allegory is political, and in it Matelda is the Grancontessa.

3. *Moral*.—Since the ethical plane concerns human conduct, Dante thinks of the moral allegory in terms of his own experience of life. Here, then, Matelda is Monna Vanna, representing the influences that prepared Dante for deeper, more spiritual love. This personal element, however, is generalized, and Matelda represents that Active Life which is a preparation for the Contemplative Life.

4. *Anagogical*.—Here Dante uses his earlier allegorization of Vanna in the *Vita Nuova*, making her a Baptist-like precursor of divine love and of contemplation. *Primavera* becomes *prima vera*. On this plane, either or both of the Mechtilds may also be introduced by their supporters.

Although this classification of the allegory may be a helpful expository device, it is too stiff and artificial to give any real idea of the close-woven texture of Dante's symbolism. Dante himself says that, "although these mystical meanings are called by various names, they can in general all be said to be allegorical." He means, I believe, not that the allegory is simpler than his four-fold classification, but that the three figurative senses are three closely connected aspects of the same thing.

On each plane, Matelda is the *precursor*. The Grancontessa's Florence looks forward to Florence as it will be when Can Grande has slain the *lupa* of papal cupidity. Monna Vanna foreshadows Beatrice. The Active Life leads to the

⁵⁹ *Ep.* X, par. 7.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Convito*, II, 1.

Contemplative Life. The purification of baptism is prerequisite to the union with divine love as symbolized by the sacrament of the Eucharist. We may say, then, that Matelda is less a person than a function, and that a medieval mind would take her to represent any historical personage, Biblical figure or theological abstraction that illustrates this function. Besides trying to "identify" her as if she were no more than a character in a *roman à clef*, we should *interpret* her by drawing forth all her symbolic implications. The satisfying results achieved by this method of interpretation form the best possible evidence that Dante planned his work with such an analysis in view.

Matelda's precursorial function appears most clearly in her connection with John the Baptist. Now that Dante has reached the summit of the Mount, with all his sins remitted by penitence, he is almost ready for that "first union" with Beatrice which is also the first union with God in faith.⁶¹ The sacramental sign of this first union with God in faith is baptism, "gateway of all the sacraments."⁶² Their perfect consummation is the eucharist.⁶³ "Through baptism," says St. Thomas, "is given the first act of spiritual life, but through the eucharist is given its complement."⁶⁴ Dante's immersion in Lethe signifies baptism; his immersion in Eunoe, the eucharist.

Both these rites, however, are described in *Purgatory* as baptisms.⁶⁵ Now though ordinarily baptism is a sacrament not to be repeated, there was, during Christ's life on earth, a necessary repetition of the rite. Before Christ himself assumed ministry, John baptized. And by the church of after years, John's baptism was retroactively justified as a necessary intermediate between the sacrament of the Old Law, circumcision, and the definitive baptism of the New Law by Christ or his ministers. The baptism of John is a preparation for the baptism of Christ, just as Lethe is a preparation for Eunoe. One is the *precursor* of the other.

⁶¹ Cf. St. Thomas, IV *Sent.* xxxix, 6 ad 2: ". . . prima conjunctio animae ad Deum est per fidem: et ideo per eam anima quasi desponsatur Deo, ut patet Osee ii, 20: Sponsabo te mihi in fide."

⁶² St. Thomas, S.T. III, lxiii, 6.

⁶³ *Ib.*, III, lxxv, 1; lxiii, 6.

⁶⁴ IV *Sent.* ix, 5, 4, ad 2.

⁶⁵ *Purg.* XXXI, 102; XXXIII, 138.

There is a distinction between the two immersions received by Dante. In the case of Lethe, the rite is performed by Matelda on her own initiative.⁶⁶ In the case of Eunoe, however, Matelda acts at the bidding of Beatrice.⁶⁷ The first rite is purely the baptism of John; the second is the act of Beatrice through an agent, and may therefore be interpreted as the baptism of Christ.

St. Thomas, quoting St. Jerome, says: "By the baptism of Christ grace is given, by which sins are remitted gratis; and that which is consummated by the bridegroom is begun by the bridesman—i.e., John."⁶⁸ Granting the natural reversal of sex, this remark applies exactly to the relations between Beatrice and Matelda. Beatrice is explicitly associated with the "Bride."⁶⁹ Matelda, since she brings Dante to Beatrice to be reunited in faith restored, may quite fittingly be conceived as the bridesmaid of that spousal, a Monna Vanna glorified as John the Baptist.

The bridal metaphor, of course, is essential to the language of mysticism. Matelda plays a part in preparing Dante for the supreme moment of insight that concludes the *Comedy*, and of which this "first union" with Beatrice is an adumbration. Let us recall the three traditional stages of the mystic's progress: *purificatio*, *illuminatio* and *contemplatio*. Matelda has guided Dante to Lethe. When she plunges him in the stream, thus freeing him from remembrance of his sins, she completes the process of *purification*. Dante is now ready to meet the eyes and the smile of Beatrice; that is, to receive *illumination* from the "glory of living light eternal."⁷⁰ But the gaze of Dante is so rapt that *illumination* almost passes over into *contemplation*.⁷¹ For this final stage he is not yet ready. "Too fixedly," murmur

⁶⁶ *Purg.* XXXI, 91-102.

⁶⁷ *Purg.* XXXIII, 127-135.

⁶⁸ *S.T.* III, xxxviii, 3, ad 1.

⁶⁹ *Purg.* XXX, 11.

⁷⁰ *Purg.* XXXI, 139.

⁷¹ St. Thomas, III *Sent.* xxxv, 1, 2, 3, c.: "Contemplatio nominat actum videndi Deum in se, sed speculatio nominat actum videndi Deum in creaturis, quasi in speculo." Strictly speaking, therefore, the experience of beholding Beatrice is merely a high form of "speculation." But since she is a symbol of divine love, that experience is *poetically* equivalent to "contemplation," and is so regarded by Dante.

the attendant angels, and Dante is forced to turn his blinded eyes away.⁷²

"What possible connection can there be," the reader may ask, "between the Grancontessa of Tuscany and the bridesmaid of this mystic union?" A connection can be shown. In the *De Doctrina Christiana*, St. Augustine compares that purification which the mind must undergo in order to see God to "a kind of ambulation, or navigation towards our native land."⁷³ In beholding the face of Beatrice, the purified Dante has neared his "native land" in a double sense. He beholds divine love reflected in the eyes of Beatrice, and, prophetically, he beholds Can Grande. Dante always associates his spiritual well-being with the material well-being of Florence under the *pax Romana*, and with his own peace, fame and influence in the redeemed city.

In being dazzled by the eyes and the smile of Beatrice, Dante receives an intimation of his mission on earth. Not yet can he behold, even in Beatrice's mirror, the ultimate radiance. Before loving God, he must love his neighbor; before praising, he must serve. In the apostolic vocation of Dante, Matelda is still the precursor. She awakens him from the slumber into which he falls, and directs him once more to Beatrice. Like the pilgrims in *Piers Plowman*, Dante has been seeking the shrine of "Saint Truth." Now he is told to find Truth by plowing his half-acre; "Do-best" will come later. "Here," says Beatrice, "shalt thou be with me short time a forester, and with me everlastingly shalt be a citizen of that Rome whereof Christ is a Roman."⁷⁴ After being shown a series of visions in order that he may "profit the world that liveth ill,"⁷⁵ Dante is ready for the baptism of Eunoe—the eucharist. This will add to the negative innocence given by Lethe that positive joy in right doing, that *intelletto d'amore*, which comes from sharing the passion of Christ. In the next canticle, Dante will be granted the boon of contemplation, but only as a means of increasing his power to lead mankind upward to felicity.

When, at Beatrice's command, Matelda immerses Dante in

⁷² *Purg.* XXXII, 1-12.

⁷³ *De Doct. Christ.*, I, 10.

⁷⁴ *Purg.* XXXII, 100-102.

⁷⁵ *Ib.*, 103.

Eunoe, she completes her duties as preparer of the Lord's way. It may be said, however, that an influence akin to hers is exerted not merely in the concluding cantos of *Purgatory*, but from the very beginning of the *Divine Comedy*.

For the function of Matelda is essentially the same as that of Lucia, through whom Mary's command to rescue Dante is transmitted to Beatrice. The important passage in question is *Inferno* II, 94-105, where Virgil reports the account given to him by Beatrice. The "gentil donna," the Virgin, called Lucia to her, and said: "Now thy servant has need of thee; and I commend him to thee." Lucia "arose," says Beatrice, "and came to the place where I was sitting with the ancient Rachel." She addressed Beatrice in almost reproachful tones, "Beatrice, true praise of God, why helpst thou not him who loved thee so, that for thee he left the vulgar crowd?" Beatrice in turn gives her commands to Virgil. She remains, however, the contemplative, the true praise of God. Representatives of the Active Life must inspire the human reason of Virgil to guide Dante through Hell and up Mount Purgatory, until the moment is ripe for the appearance of Beatrice. Lucia is the beginning of this manifestation of prevenient grace; Matelda is its culmination.

To associate Matelda with Lucia perhaps only deepens the mystery, for Lucia herself presents a difficult problem. Witte's theory, concurred in by Moore,⁷⁶ that she is Dante's patron saint is decidedly interesting, and can easily be absorbed into the present interpretation. Nor need we argue the relative claims of the Syracusan martyr and the Florentine nun. Either, or both, will serve us.

The Saint Lucy who met martyrdom under Diocletian about the year 300 has points of contact with Matelda in that, like John the Baptist, she suffered from the tyranny of unbelievers. Because of the beautiful eyes which she tore out lest they should enflame her lover, and which were restored to her even more beautiful than before, she became the patron saint of persons afflicted with eye-trouble. As Moore points out in the article previously referred to, Dante suffered from weak eyes.⁷⁷ He also, we may add, suffered from spiritual eye-trouble, long

⁷⁶ See the latter's *Sa. Lucia*, in *Studies in Dante*, fourth series; Cambridge, 1917.

⁷⁷ Cf. *Vita Nuova* XL and *Convito* III, 9.

unable as he was to behold the Sun except as it was reflected down to him from higher intelligences. Lucia's name, of course, suggests the light-bearing function. Since Matelda, by baptizing Dante in Lethe, prepares him to behold the divine light reflected in the eyes of Beatrice, she too is the healer of Dante's eyes.

The Florentine Sta. Lucia, who died about 1225, fits the foreground allegory of the Earthly Paradise. A member of the prominent Ubaldini family, she was sister to "Il Cardinale."⁷⁸ She was a nun in the Florentine convent of *Monticelli*, a name not without significance when we think of Mount Purgatory. It is of course a coincidence that she had a sister, also a local saint, named *Giovanna*. To the modern scientific mind, coincidences are vulgar accidents; to the medieval mind, they are the intersections of different rays of the divine will. The Grancontessa Matilda, representing the political well-being of Florence, and Santa Lucia degli Ubaldini, representing the spiritual aspirations of Florence, might appropriately be united in Matelda. The Florentine nun, also, lends some encouragement to those who wish to identify Matelda with a German nun.

During Dante's progress through hell, the guidance of Virgil is entirely adequate except at the entrance to the City of Dis, where the poets are rescued from real danger by the intervention of a male angel.⁷⁹ This angel may well have been sent by Lucia. In a sense, the whole of hell is Florence, but here is the quintessence of that rebellious city. If Lucia is connected with Matelda, it is appropriate that the gates of the city should be thrown open at the command of an emissary of the Grancontessa. The point, however, must seem a slight one until supported by evidence to be brought forward later.

In the second canticle, Virgil's guidance is reenforced by other characters and by prophetic visions. The first of these helpers is Cato, who may serve to remind us that Countess Matilda's Florence is not only a symbol of Golden Age and Earthly Paradise, but a continuation or prophetic revival of the spirit of imperial Rome. The meeting of Cacciaguida and Dante

⁷⁸ *Inf.* X, 120. Cf. Moore, *op. cit.*, for other reasons why Dante might have been interested in her.

⁷⁹ *Inf.* IX, 73 ff.

is likened to the meeting of Anchises and Aeneas in Elysium. The old Florentine begins to address his descendant in pure Latin,⁸⁰ and at the end of his discourse Dante is moved to apply to him the ancient Roman "voi" which originated in the multiple grandeur of Caesar.⁸¹ When Cacciaguida compares the new Florence with the old, he lets ancient Romans represent, by implication, the Florence of Matilda: "Then a Cianghella, or a Lapo Salterello, would have been as great a marvel as now would Cincinnatus or Cornelia."⁸² But it will not be necessary to illustrate further the obvious fact that Dante was proudly conscious of his place in the continuity of the Roman tradition.

Nor will it be necessary to expatiate upon Dante's belief that certain Roman poets, and certain characters of Roman history, were forerunners of Christian truth. The descendants of Aeneas resembled the Israelites in being a "chosen people," and the fortunes of the two races had many points of correspondence. Thus Cato's spirit pervades and rules the purgatorial mount,⁸³ rejecting the unfit,⁸⁴ and spurring on the laggard,⁸⁵ as in life he had urged the remnant of Pompey's army across the Libyan desert.⁸⁶ He cannot, however, enter the Earthly Paradise. Like Virgil, he must give place to Matelda, Dante's new guide. Now the Grancontessa Matilda resembles Cato in that she stands for the old Roman spirit, which loved the Empire, but hated the tyranny of emperors. She defied Henry IV as Cato defied Julius Caesar. Matelda might also have reminded a medieval interpreter of Martia, Cato's wife. As the summit of Mount Purgatory is reached, the spirit of Cato and the spirit of Martia seem to have united. This may be intended to remind us of Martia's return to Cato after the death of Hortensius, whereby is meant, according to the *Convito*, "that the noble soul at the beginning of old age returns to God."⁸⁷ Martia's strange marriage to Hortensius, also, corresponds to the ideals

⁸⁰ *Par.* XV, 28-30.

⁸¹ *Par.* XVI, 10.

⁸² *Par.* XV, 127-129.

⁸³ *Purg.* I, 65-66.

⁸⁴ *Ib.*, 28 ff.

⁸⁵ *Purg.* II, 118 ff.

⁸⁶ *Inf.* XIV, 113-115.

⁸⁷ The whole passage is cited by Grandgent, *Ladies of Dante's Lyrics*, p. 70.

of that Active Life which the commentators have rightly associated with Matelda.

Cato and Matelda are connected in still another way. The numerous points of correspondence between Cato and Elijah have already been set forth by Professor Grandgent.⁸⁸ Elijah, in turn, is related to John the Baptist. He was declared by Christ himself to be one with John.⁸⁹ If, to paraphrase Euclid, things allegorically related to the same thing are allegorically related to each other, Cato and Matelda in her baptist rôle are linked together by their resemblance to Elijah.

But Lucia, not content to help the poets indirectly through figures like Cato, appears in her own person. On the morning of each of the three days consumed in the ascent of Mount Purgatory, a vision assists in guiding Virgil and Dante on their upward way. In the first, Lucia is specifically mentioned as the lady who showed the dreaming Virgil the entrance to Purgatory.⁹⁰ The dream, however, forms an equally appropriate setting for Matelda, whose influence may well extend from the Gate of Purgatory to the Gate of Paradise.

The second vision occupies lines 1-36 of *Purgatory* XIX. Here a Siren fascinates Dante by her singing. But a lady appears and cries reproachfully, "O Virgil, Virgil, who is this?" Then Virgil, "with his eyes ever fixed on that honest one," approaches the Siren. In the next line, however, the words *l'altra prendeva* are ambiguous, for one cannot be sure whether Virgil or the lady exposes the Siren's loathsomeness. The commentators are about equally divided. The words *ed ei venia*⁹¹ seem to support the interpretation that Virgil, while not capable of the deed unaided, is able to perform it when drawing strength from the eyes of the holy lady. In any case, Dante is awakened by the foul stench issuing from the Siren's belly, and the vision is at an end.

For reasons which would demand a disproportionate amount of space to explain, the Siren is probably Circe, representing the lusts of the flesh. The lady has been variously interpreted as

⁸⁸ *P.M.L.A.*, Vol. XVII, 71 et seq.

⁸⁹ *Mat.* XI, 14.

⁹⁰ *Purg.* IX, 55 ff.

⁹¹ *Purg.* XIX, 29.

meaning Wisdom, Truth, Holy Church, Reason, Temperance and Philosophy. It seems probable that she is Lucia in the act of supporting her agent, Virgil. Virgil symbolizes more than mere "reason," the allegorical tag usually assigned him. It was not reason which enabled him to prophesy Christ and the Holy Roman Empire, but Prevenient Grace, the light shed upon those who, as it were, know God unconsciously, like the "dear child" in Wordsworth's sonnet. This is the light provided by Lucia. The vision, then, represents the *total* influence of Virgil: human reason aided by grace. Prophetically, it signifies that when the wanderers reach the summit of the mount, Virgil will give place to a pure embodiment of the theological abstraction which he has represented only in a human, imperfect way.

Virgil does, in fact, give place to Matelda; and our belief that she is connected with Lucia receives support from the vision now under consideration. We have no real facts, of course, as to the influence of Monna Vanna upon Dante. But if in the *Vita Nuova* she is one of the "ladies who have intelligence of love," may she not in the *Comedy* have intelligence of *divine* love, and thus stand in opposition to the wrongful desires represented by Circe? The artificial but beautiful conventions of courtly love did not make saints of Dante and his circle, but they did much to restrain them from those Circe-like lusts which transform men into beasts. In default of Beatrice herself, these gentle influences might well be represented by Primavera.

In Dante's life, two strong moral influences were the beauty of great literature and the beauty of good women. It would therefore be quite natural for Virgil and Vanna to join forces in exposing the vileness of Circe. Dante would remember that Virgil represented Aeneas as keeping well off from Circe's isle, "lest the pious race of Troy should suffer such monstrous change" as that undergone by the enchanted beasts.²² In Dante's mind, those of the Florentines who were loyal to the Empire were descended from the "pious race of Troy." And it is not inappropriate that Virgil, the enemy of Circe, should be inspired by a being comparable to John the Baptist, the enemy of Salome.

²² *Aeneid* VII, 1-20.

The Grancontessa will fit this passage no less snugly than Primavera. Dante believed that Florence had fallen through cupidity, the vice of Circe. "The dwellers in that wretched vale," he makes Guido del Duca say, "have so changed their nature that it seems as if Circe had them in her pasturing."⁹⁵ Regarding this vision from the political viewpoint, we may say that Circe is here exposed by that earlier Florence which is soon to return under the *pax Romana*, and by the Roman Empire itself as symbolized by its prophet, Virgil. Why should we insist upon a theological, or a biographical, or a political interpretation, when all three interpretations are in perfect accord?

Thus far we have considered two visions. In the first, Lucia is mentioned by name; in the second, her influence is strongly suggested. Both of these visions, however, agree with what we know of Matelda, who awaits the wanderers on her mountain-top.

The third vision, to which we now turn, unmistakably points both backward to Lucia and Beatrice at the beginning of the *Inferno*, and forward to Matelda and Beatrice at the end of *Purgatory*. In *Purgatory* XXVII, Virgil, Statius and Dante, soon after passing through the flames, prepare to rest for the night.⁹⁶ Dante notices that the stars are uncommonly large and bright, and falls asleep as he muses.⁹⁶ And at the hour when Venus, the morning-star, appears in the sky, he sees a vision of Leah, who sings of herself and of her sister Rachel.⁹⁶

Now the star of Venus is the guiding star of Dante and of all Christians, for it represents the two great paths of human conduct. The two aspects of Venus are as she appears at dawn and at dusk, now Lucifer, now Hesperus, "wooing the sun now with nape, and now with brow."⁹⁷ As we are told in the heaven of Venus itself,⁹⁸ the first aspect signifies love of the Sun, or God, when it provides a stimulus in the Active Life;

⁹⁵ *Purg.* XIV, 40-42.

⁹⁶ *Purg.* XXVII, 16 ff.

⁹⁷ *Ib.*, 91-93.

⁹⁸ *Ib.*, 94-108.

⁹⁹ *Par.* VIII, 12.

¹⁰⁰ *Par.* VIII-IX.

while the second aspect signifies love of God for His own loveliness, as in the Contemplative Life.

In her twofold meaning, Venus may be taken as the symbol of the Virgin Mary, for only in her do the direct and indirect service of God perfectly unite.⁹⁹ This star it is that guides the wanderer to his native shore. "Mary," says St. Bonaventure, "is a most precious star guiding us to our heavenly country, nay, guiding us over the sea of this life to the grace of her son, even to the gate of Paradise."¹⁰⁰ How exactly this corresponds to the poetic situation! Through the influence of this star, Dante is led to a redeemed Florence, and to his heavenly home; to the smile of Beatrice, representing both the favor of Can Grande and the grace of Christ; and to the gate of Paradise, representing both the portal of heaven and the actual "gate of St. Peter" in Florence.¹⁰¹

We may remind ourselves that Dante does not actually see the star, but an embodiment of one aspect of that star in the person of Leah. Since the star appears at dawn and not at even, only Leah figures in the vision, though in her song she describes her sister. Leah's connection with the Active Life, and Rachel's with the Contemplative, are made plainly evident. "She is fain to behold her fair eyes, as I to deck me with my hands: her, contemplation; me, action, doth satisfy."¹⁰² Leah and Rachel in the Old Testament correspond, of course, to Martha and Mary in the New.

Leah and Rachel as described in this vision remind us of Lucia and Beatrice in *Inferno* II. Although the symbolic fluidity of Beatrice makes it necessary for Dante to select St. Bernard as the pure type of the Contemplative Life, Beatrice may stand for the Contemplative Life in relation to Lucia. She is Love of God gazing downward and upward, both as reflecting His light to lower intelligences, and as receiving that light through contemplation of the Sun itself. "Rachel my

⁹⁹ Albertus Magnus, *De laudibus b. Mariæ Virg.*, IV, xxxv, 2: "Ratione utriusque vitæ, activæ scilicet et contemplativæ, signata est per Leam et Rachelem. . . . Sed [Maria] perfecta fuit in utraque vita, quod neutra sororum istarum."

¹⁰⁰ *Speculum b. Mariæ Virg.*, lect. III.

¹⁰¹ *Par.* XVI, 94-96.

¹⁰² *Purg.* XXVII, 106-108: "Lei lo vedere, e me l'oprare appaga." The Temple Classics translation is here rather an interpretation, but one that seems justified.

sister," sings Leah, "ne'er stirs from her mirror, and sitteth all day."¹⁰³ And Beatrice, when Lucia came to summon her to Dante's aid, was "sitting with the ancient Rachel."¹⁰⁴ Are we not tempted to imagine that Lucia, before Mary's summons, was "sitting" with the ancient *Leah*? In any case Lucia and Beatrice represent the complementary aspects of the Virgin Mary which are combined in the star of Venus. The functions of the star, as it were, separate themselves, and the former becomes a guide to the latter.

In this world, the Active Life and the Contemplative Life are two parallel paths toward human felicity. But the latter, as associated with the philosopher and the priest, is necessarily of greater dignity. In another sense, also, all life in this world is active, when compared to the contemplative joys of the heavenly life; so that the Active Life is the precursor, and in a measure the handmaiden, of the Contemplative Life.¹⁰⁵ The former is to the latter as Matilda's Florence to the City of God, as Leah to Rachel, as Martha to Mary, as John the Baptist to Christ, as Monna Vanna to Monna Bice.

To this list we might add, "as Grace Prevenient to Grace Subsequent." Just as the Virgin includes both the Active and the Contemplative Life, so she includes both Prevenient and Subsequent Grace: the former as the *ancilla domini*, the meek and bewildered Jewish woman chosen as the Lord's instrument; the latter as Queen of Heaven. We may also say that the relations between Prevenient and Subsequent Grace are analogous to those between the Active and the Contemplative Life. Thus the progress of Dante is from Active Life and Prevenient Grace to Contemplative Life and Subsequent Grace.

In *Purgatory*, the dual functions of Mary are shared by Matelda and Beatrice as they are in *Inferno* II by Lucia and Beatrice. Most commentators have recognized that the vision of Leah in *Purgatory* XXVII points directly forward to Matelda. Leah sings and gathers flowers; so does Matelda.¹⁰⁶ We should note also her statement that the psalm *Delectasti*—"For thou, Lord, hast made me glad through thy work: I will triumph in

¹⁰³ *Purg.* XXVII, 104-105.

¹⁰⁴ *Inf.* II, 103.

¹⁰⁵ That Dante held this view is evident from *Convito* IV, 17.

¹⁰⁶ *Purg.* XXVII, 97-99; XXVIII, 40-42.

the works of thy hands"—provides an explanation of her happy behavior.¹⁰⁷ A link between her and the star is furnished when the poet addresses her as "fair lady, who at love's beams dost warm thyself."¹⁰⁸

But Matelda is associated with the Virgin Mary in a much more significant manner. Her explanation of the fact that the Earthly Paradise is moved only by the First Mover¹⁰⁹ is suggestive of the stainless birth of Christ. Mary conceived through the operation within her of the First Cause, without the agency of any mediate intelligence. In the Earthly Paradise, "the primal motion . . . strikes on this eminence, which is all free in the pure air; . . . and the smitten plant has such power that with its virtue it impregnates the air."¹¹⁰ Was not the Virgin a "smitten plant" in a similar sense? God is to Mary as the *primum mobile* to Eden. "Were this understood, it would not then seem a marvel yonder when some plant takes root there without manifest seed."¹¹¹ In this connection the following lines applied by Dante to Matelda demand reverent scrutiny: "I do not believe that so bright a light shone forth under the eyelids of Venus, pierced by her son, against all his wont. She smiled from the right bank opposite, gathering more flowers with her hands, which the high land bears without seed."¹¹² The association of ideas seems manifest.

The fabric of Dante's allegory is so closely woven, with every thread organically related to every other thread, that to interpret a single line often involves an interpretation of the entire *Comedy*. Hence what seems very clear to him who approaches the work from one viewpoint may seem very cloudy to him who approaches the work from a different viewpoint. Some readers, however, will be ready to share my belief that the concluding cantos of *Purgatory* fulfill the promise held out in *Inferno* II. To make one desperate effort at simplification, we may say that the *Divine Comedy* portrays the influence upon Dante of the twofold way of life and the twofold grace summed up in the

¹⁰⁷ *Purg.* XXVIII, 79-81.

¹⁰⁸ *Ib.*, 43-44; 64-66.

¹⁰⁹ *Purg.* XXVIII, 88 ff.

¹¹⁰ *Ib.*, 103-111.

¹¹¹ *Ib.*, 115-117.

¹¹² *Ib.*, 64-69.

Virgin Mary. First, although at the beginning of the poem he has already "refound" himself,¹¹³ he must, for the sake of the spiritual drama, undergo a symbolic loss of light. That is the *Inferno*. Next, in order to be worthy of contemplation, he must be purified in the upward-yearning Active Life. That is *Purgatory*. Finally, he is granted a taste of contemplation in order that he may better serve the world. That is *Paradise*.

Action for the sake of contemplation, and contemplation for the sake of action—that phrase expresses the theme of the *Comedy*. And when Matelda and Beatrice stand side by side on the banks of Eunoe, that theme is symbolically set before our eyes. They are Spring and Love, John the Baptist and Christ, the two halves of the heart of Mary. As Lucia, Matelda had urged Beatrice to succor her servant. Now, as the Baptist, she prepares that servant, at Beatrice's bidding, for his ascent to the stars.

The reader may ask why Matelda, if her function is that of Lucia, is not called Lucia outright. But Lucia is firmly fixed in Paradise. Before long Dante is to see her sitting "contro al maggior padre di famiglia."¹¹⁴ Having already attained heaven, she cannot with either theological or dramatic fitness be demoted to purgatory. Moreover, Dante needs the name "Matelda" to enforce the very important political allegory. We should say, not that Matelda *is* Lucia, but that she performs in the Earthly Paradise a function like that which Lucia performs in the heavenly machinery of the poem.

If anyone still hungers for an "identification," I can only express the opinion that in creating this character Dante had in mind two women: the Countess Matilda and Giovanna-Primavera. But that, as I have tried to suggest, is a relatively unimportant point. The essence of Matelda is *precursorship*, and the medieval way of dealing with her would be to fill her full of precursors.

This is precisely what Dante has done. Toward the end of *Purgatory* XXII—after the Siren vision but before the Leah vision—the progress of the three poets is hindered by a tree, from which emerges a voice reciting examples of temperance. The whole passage must be quoted:

¹¹³ *Inf.* I, 1-2.

¹¹⁴ *Par.* XXXII, 136-138.

"Mary thought more how the wedding-feast might be honorable and complete, than of her own mouth, which now answers for you. And the Roman women of old were content with water for their drink, and Daniel despised food and gained wisdom. The first age was fair as gold; it made acorns savory with hunger, and every stream nectar with thirst. Honey and locusts were the meat which nourished the Baptist in the wilderness; therefore he is glorious, and so great as in the gospel is revealed to you."¹¹⁵

In this passage, the emphasis placed upon mere physical abstemiousness should not deceive the reader. Temperance of the stomach is here a symbol of temperance in the broader sense. For Dante, the great sin is cupidity—wrongful desire of all sorts. Its antidote is rejection of such desire, or temperance. This is the ethics of Lethe, Matelda's river. Eventually it must be supplemented by the more positive and expansive ethics of Eunoe, Beatrice's river.

Now if this voice, which here expresses the whole ethical theme of *Purgatory*, is not the voice of Matelda, it at least sums up Matelda's symbolic associations. Each example of temperance applies in itself to Matelda, and suggests other examples which apply to her equally well.

"Mary thought more how the wedding-feast might be honourable and complete, than of her own mouth." Here is Mary, of course, in the Active Life—the morning-star aspect of her nature represented by Lucia, Leah and Matelda. In a sense, this example of temperance includes all the others.

"And the Roman women of old were content with water for their drink." We are reminded of Cacciaguida's description of temperate and virtuous Florence under the Countess. In the symbolic background of this statement stand the figures of Cato, Martia and no doubt many others whose names would leap to the lips of the medieval commentator. These good Romans illustrate the Active Life; several of them are touched by the ray of Prevenient Grace; from them the Holy Roman Empire, championed by Countess Matilda, is descended.

"Daniel despised food and gained wisdom." Like the men of old Rome, and like Countess Matilda, Daniel resisted tyranny

¹¹⁵ *Purg.* XXII, 142-154.

and prophesied the triumph of the Chosen People. He is also an outstanding example of Preventive Grace, and one of the line of Hebrews who point forward to Christ as Matelda points forward to Beatrice. Here the medieval interpreter could expand "ad lib.," using Moses, Elijah and the Baptist, and perhaps connecting Elijah with Cato.

"The first age was fair as gold." Cacciaguida, as we have seen, describes old-time Florence in terms applicable to the Golden Age; and Matelda explicitly identifies Golden Age and Earthly Paradise. Background figures here are Proserpina and Eve.

"Honey and locusts were the meat which nourished the Baptist in the wilderness." John's connection with Matelda, and his part in the allegory, have been sufficiently explained. Behind him stand a whole line of historical precursors and servants of God in the Active Life. Behind him also stands the Countess Matilda, of whose Florence John was patron saint. And by her side, or even further in the background, stands Giovanna-Primavera.

These, be it said once more, are not identifications, but implications suggested by the function of Matelda in the poem. Further analysis along these lines would bring out still more numerous and more minute points of correspondence between her and the precursors for whom she stands, but only at the expense of displeasing those who are suspicious of medieval allegory even in medieval allegorical poetry. I should like, also, to argue that Dante's allegorical structure coincides with the medieval view of the universe as a chain of causes in which every intelligence contains the "form" of some lower intelligence; but to do so would be to incur the charge of having applied scholastic philosophy to this completely scholastic poet.

It seems best, therefore, to drop the subject with one question: Does not this method of interpretation, however crudely applied in the present instance, give greater coherence and point to Dante's allegory than the more common fashion of insisting that Matelda is the Grancontessa or Primavera or St. Mechtild?

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MISCELLANEOUS

THE ROMANCES OF CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES

I

IN reading the court romances of Chrétien de Troyes, one is struck at once by their episodic nature and by certain decided faults of composition—in places almost a lack of composition—which seem inexcusable in a poet of Chrétien's ability. I look for the explanation of this episodic nature in the way in which the romances were composed; in other words, I believe that, as is generally thought to be the case with Pulci's *Morgante*, they were composed at the command of a patron to be recited from day to day. Each romance, then, would become a sort of continued story, and should be regarded as a series of chapters rather than as a single composition.

From this point of view, the nature of the romances is easily explained. The poet probably had the rough outline of his story in mind before beginning, but he would fill in the details as he went along. Any exciting adventure or amusing anecdote that came to his attention he would incorporate in his poem whether it fitted or not. Just as in telling a bedtime story to children one supplements one's invention with bits of fairy-tale and mythology, so Chrétien padded out *Erec* with the *Joy of the Court*, and *Yvain* with the story of the *King of the Isle of the Maidens*, which has all the appearance of a tale heard and not wholly understood or remembered.

In the same way the damsel, who after begging Lancelot to spare the life of a conquered knight hastens away for fear that Lancelot will recognize her, seems to be taken bodily from some story in which her fear is more fully explained. As for the rewards which Lancelot promises and is promised, and which except in one case are never heard of again, the poet in all likelihood simply forgot about them from one day to the next.

Besides Chrétien's faults of composition, Gaston Paris criticizes his "interminable monologues,"¹ especially those in the

¹ G. Paris, *Mélanges de Littérature française au moyen âge*, Paris, 1910, i, p. 246.

first part of *Cligès*. It is true that for us the complaints of Soredamors and Alixandre lack the charm which they must have had for the original audience, who doubtless looked meaningfully at such a lady while Soredamors was sighing, and at such a knight during the lament of Alixandre. But if we suppose that the monologues were distributed over two or three days, then there is no reason why they should have appeared interminable to the original audience. It is only because we read them all at one sitting that they fail to hold our attention and our interest.

Thus to the poet and his audience, the faults of composition so apparent to the reader, and especially to the re-reader, were of little consequence; and the digressions, if not justified in the poem as a whole, had their place in a recitation from day to day.

If, then, the court romances of Chrétien were composed and recited from day to day, they ought to fall into natural divisions, each more or less complete in itself, and of a suitable length for recitation. In determining these divisions for the present study, I considered two things: subject-matter and sentence-structure. That is to say, a division was made only at the end of an episode (or if the episode were very long, at a convenient stopping-place) that fell between two lines not connected by any relative word. For example, a division could hardly begin with "he was riding along," because the audience would have forgotten to whom the pronoun *he* referred. Needless to say, a division was never made between the two lines of a rhymed couplet.

In the tables² which I have given at the end of this article, I have starred those divisions which I call "good," and which are complete as to both subject-matter and sentence-structure. Those not starred do not fulfill the second requirement; that is, the subject of the opening sentence is often a pronoun instead of a noun. The tables show that the good divisions are far more numerous: *Erec* has fourteen good divisions as against five poor ones; *Cligès* fifteen, as against one; *Lancelot* thirteen, as against four; *Yvain* ten, as against one.³ The poor divisions

² I have left *Perceval* out of the present discussion, since a critical edition of it has not yet appeared.

³ In the case of *Erec*, *Cligès*, and *Lancelot*, the introduction was evidently composed after the rest of the poem. The first division is obviously good.

may very well be due to the copyist rather than to the poet. Later copyists in particular, writing the poem as a whole, would have no interest in its divisions, and finding the repetition of a proper name tedious, might replace the name by a pronoun.

It remains to be seen whether the divisions thus made are of a suitable length for recitation. Let us reconstruct as far as possible the circumstances under which they would have been recited. The men of Henri de Champagne's court have been out all day, riding, hunting, or jousting. They return in the evening to dine heavily, and it is then that the Countess Marie calls upon her poets for entertainment. Chrétien finds at least half his listeners in a more or less somnolent state. His business is to keep them amused, and he is careful to adapt the length of his recitation to their mood. As long as he has their attention, he will develop his theme; but at the first sign of restlessness he hastens to bring his story to a close.

The divisions that I found take on the average twenty minutes to read aloud. The recitation may have been accompanied by music, in which case it would, of course, have lasted longer. If Chrétien was only one of a group of entertainers, of whom some provided less intellectual amusement, he would hardly have been allotted more than twenty minutes or half-an-hour. It is interesting to note that the divisions of the *Yvain* are longer than those of the preceding poems,—an indication, to my mind, of the poet's increasing popularity.

In reconstructing the scene of Chrétien's recitation, I placed it at the court of Champagne. As a matter of fact, the *Lancelot* is the only one of the four romances under discussion which we know was composed for Marie de Champagne. The other three have no dedication; but I think it not improbable that they, too, were composed for Marie. Chrétien's early poems: *les Comandemanz d'Ovide*, *le Mors de l'Espaule*, and others, would have brought him to the attention of the countess, who would have summoned him to her court. Under her patronage he would have composed *Erec*, *Cligès*,⁴ *Lancelot*, and *Yvain*. At that time

⁴ Cf. G. Paris, *op. cit.*, i, p. 296: "... il est intéressant de constater que ces règles (*Regulae Amoris*, of André le Chapelain) étaient déjà connues au temps de la composition de *Cligès*, et cela nous montre d'autre part que Chrétien, en écrivant ce roman, était dans le même état d'esprit et subissait l'influence du même milieu qu'en écrivant, sans doute bien peu après, le *Chevalier de la Charrette*."

a poet's verses were apparently preserved at the command of his patron by a scribe who took them down as they were recited; for parchment was beyond the means of all but the wealthy. Chrétien would have known how to read and write, if he was a cleric as Bédier supposes; but there is no reason to believe that he should have departed from the usual custom and written down his works himself. If, then, the first four romances were composed at the court of Marie, this would explain why they have been preserved, whereas the other works of Chrétien mentioned in the opening lines of *Cligès* have not come down to us.⁵

Furthermore *Yvain* refers back very definitely to the *Lancelot* (l. 4740-4745; l. 3704-3715, and l. 3918-3939). Now Chrétien's popularity might have been so great that everyone knew the *Lancelot* by heart when *Yvain* was composed; but it is more logical to suppose the same audience for both poems.

I have said that Chrétien probably had the rough outline of his poem in mind before beginning to compose the actual lines. In the *Cligès* this outline seems to have been fairly well developed, and the story of the *Lancelot* is generally thought to have been supplied by Marie de Champagne.⁶ But the five-part system which Voretzsch elaborates in his *Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Litteratur*⁷ is inconsistent with the loose and flexible construction that a composition from day to day presupposes. Voretzsch divides the romances into three main parts: exposition, chief adventure, and conclusion, each part being separated from the next by a series of adventures which serve to interrupt and retard the main action. These adventures form two subordinate, transitional parts, making with the three already mentioned five in all.

The idea of the five-part system was evidently suggested by line 1844 of the *Erec*: "Ci fine li premerains vers," which Voretzsch takes as the closing line of the first part. There are, however, no other such closing lines either in the rest of the *Erec* or in the *Cligès*, *Lancelot*, or *Yvain*. Line 1844 looks, rather,

⁵ Except possibly the *Philomena*.

⁶ For a discussion of "matiere et sen" cf. *Romania*, Vol. 44 (1915-17), p. 14 ff.: Wm. A. Nitze, *Sans et Matière dans les Oeuvres de Chrétien de Troyes*.

⁷ Halle a. S., 1905, p. 299 ff.

like the addition of a copyist who was perhaps limited as to parchment and forced to divide the poem.⁸

In the *Erec*, according to Voretzsch, the carrying off of Enide and her subsequent rescue form the chief adventure, or third part, those adventures leading up to it forming the second, retarding part. The carrying off of Enide seems to me, on the contrary, the culminating adventure of a whole series to prove the undiminished prowess of Erec and the undiminishing love of Enide. The one episode absolutely extraneous to the story, the *Joy of the Court*, was evidently put in just before the end to draw out the poem a little longer.

To make the *Cligès* conform to the system, Voretzsch is obliged to count the first 2382 lines, dealing with the love of Soredamors and Alixandre, as a sort of introductory story, and to begin his exposition with line 2383. The conclusion, of only eighty-two lines, is hardly long enough to be called a part at all. Finally, the main adventure, from the return of *Cligès* to the hiding of the lovers in the tower, contains one of those retarding elements which belong properly to the second and fourth parts, namely, the incident of the three doctors of Salerna. So likewise in the *Lancelot*, the main adventure, from the crossing of the Bridge of the Sword to the second meeting with Guinevere, contains the whole retarding episode of the feigned wrath of the queen, the capture of Lancelot and his attempted suicide. So also in the *Yvain*, the fight with the giant interrupts the main adventure of the rescue of Lunete.

Erec, the romance that suggested the five-part system, best conforms to it; *Yvain* conforms to it least. Indeed the only possible explanation of the composition of *Yvain* is, in my opinion, that which I have proposed. We are confronted with a series of tales,⁹ evidently not of Chrétien's own invention, some drawn from classic antiquity, others probably of Celtic origin, all bound together by a thread which is at times very slender indeed and which does not conceal the disparity of the

⁸ The same thing holds for the three preceding lines which are closely bound up with line 1844.

⁹ The incident of the churl who guards the wild bulls, the magic fountain, the theme of the Matron of Ephesus and of Androcles and the lion, the madness of the hero, the story of the giant and that of the King of the Isle of the Maidens.

parts that it binds. The *Yvain* is not a development of the Matron of Ephesus theme, of the Androcles theme, or of a Celtic fairy-tale, but a combination of all three. The connecting thread, as in the *Lancelot*, is the service which a perfect knight owes his lady. *Erec*, *Cligès*, and *Lancelot* have given their author practice in the weaving together of diverse elements and confidence in his powers as a story-teller. For the *Yvain*, he no longer needs even a rough outline.

The same loose construction of the romances that seems to preclude the five-part system suggested the idea that they were composed for daily recitation. Whether or not the divisions which I have proposed are exactly those of Chrétien is of minor importance. The existence of some such divisions, however, would solve the problem of the episodic nature of the poems and explain why Chrétien was, as Gaston Paris observes, "un conteur adroit dans le détail, parfois maladroit dans l'ensemble."¹⁰

II

The following tables give the proposed divisions of the romances, the good ones being starred, and indicate briefly the substance of each division:

EREC

1-26, Introduction.

1, *27-274, The hunt of the white deer; the knight with the dwarf; 2, *275-546, Erec lodges with the poor knight; 3, *547-746, The falcon; 4, *747-1080, Erec vanquishes the knight of the dwarf; 5, *1081-1478, The poor knight gives Erec his daughter; 6, *1479-1844, Reception at Arthur's court; 7, *1845-2134, Wedding of Erec and Enide; 8, *2135-2764, Enide reproaches Erec for his lethargy; they set off together; 9, *2765-3208, Erec vanquishes eight knights; 10, 3209-3458, The count; Enide's ruse; 11, *3459-3662, Erec vanquishes the count; 12, *3663-3930, Guivrez; 13, *3931-4278, Kay, Gauvain, and Arthur's court; 14, *4279-4776, Erec vanquishes two giants; Enide carried off by the count of Limors; 15, *4777-4936, Erec and Enide escape from Limors; 16, *4937-5170, Meeting with Guivrez; 17, 5171-5366, Erec cured by Guivrez' sisters; 18,

¹⁰ Paris, *loc. cit.*, p. 247.

5367-5668, The king Evrains; 19, 5669-6410, The Joy of the Court; 20, 6411-6958, Coronation of Erec.

CLIGÈS

1-44, Introduction.

1, *45-440, Alixandre leaves Greece for King Arthur's court; 2, *441-872, Love of Soredamors and Alixandre; complaint of Soredamors; 3, *873-1260, Complaint of Alixandre; preparations for battle; 4, *1261-1514, Punishment of the four traitors; 5, *1515-2146, Capture of the castle; 6, *2147-2382, Marriage of Soredamors and Alixandre; birth of Cligès; 7, *2383-2706, Death of Alixandre; Alis in Germany; 8, *2707-3250, Love of Fénice and Cligès; Thessala's ruse; 9, *3251-3620, Marriage of Fénice and Alis; battle with the duke; 10, *3621-4010, Fénice carried off, rescued by Cligès; 11, *4011-4628, Duel between Cligès and the duke; Cligès in Brittany; 12, *4629-5114, Tournament; 13, *5115-5554, Return of Cligès; 14, *5555-5814, The tower; Fénice feigns death; 15, *5815-6050, Three doctors of Salerno; 16, *6051-6346, The lovers in the tower; 17, 6347-6784, Discovery of lovers; death of Alis.

LANCELOT

1-30, Introduction.

1, *31-246, Kay rides off with the queen; 2, *247-714, Lancelot and Gauvain in quest of the queen: the cart, the fiery lance; 3, *715-940, The ford; 4, 941-1368, Lancelot and the wandering damsel; 5, *1369-1660, The comb; knight challenges Lancelot for damsel; 6, *1661-2008, Outcome of challenge; the cemetery; 7, *2009-2450, Battle between Logrians and followers of Meleaganz; 8, *2451-3020, Lancelot kills insulting knight, arrives at Bridge of the Sword; 9, 3021-3504, Lancelot crosses the bridge; Bademaguz and Meleaganz; 10, 3505-3954, Duel of Lancelot and Meleaganz; 11, *3955-4424, Despair of Lancelot at wrath of Guinevere; 12, 4425-4754, Reconciliation of Lancelot and Guinevere; 13, *4755-5256, Disappearance of Lancelot; rescue of Gauvain; 14, *5257-5594, Return of Guinevere; preparations for tournament; 15, *5595-6166, Tournament; imprisonment of Lancelot; 16, *6167-6458,

Meleaganz at Arthur's court; 17, *6459-6728, Release of Lancelot; 18, *6729-7134, Death of Meleaganz.

YVAIN

1, *1-722, Calogrenant's story: the churl, the magic fountain; 2, *723-1172, Yvain kills the knight of the fountain and is imprisoned; 3, *1173-1588, Yvain falls in love with Laudine; 4, *1589-1942, Lunete reconciles Laudine; 5, *1943-2638, Reception for Arthur's court; Yvain rides off with Gauvain; 6, *2639-3340, Madness of Yvain; 7, *3341-3956, Lion; Lunete in difficulty; 8, *3957-4638, Yvain fights with giant, delivers Lunete; 9, *4639-5106, Daughters of Noire Espine; 10, 5107-5770, Castle of Evil Adventure; 11, *5771-6526, Duel between Gauvain and Yvain; 12, *6527-6818, Reconciliation of Yvain and Laudine.

III

A statistical treatment of my results seems almost absurd, when one considers the many sources of error and variation: the changes in the text made by copyists, the circumstances that on a particular evening might have lengthened or shortened the recitation, the tempo set by the subject-matter,—slow for a discussion of love, more rapid for the description of a duel. I offer, however, for what they may be worth, the following Tables:

Table I shows the average number of lines in the 'good' divisions and their average deviation.

TABLE I

Erec.....	326 ± 98	(10, 17, 18, 19, 20 omitted)
Cligès.....	394 ± 98	(17 omitted)
Lancelot.....	379 ± 103	(4, 9, 10, 12 omitted)
Yvain.....	559 ± 140	(10 omitted)

The 'good' divisions are, however, not always well bounded. Thus, a 'good' division followed by a 'poor' one, while 'good' as to the opening line, is probably 'poor' as to its closing line. I add, therefore, in Table II, the average number of lines in all divisions, 'good' and 'poor,' with their average deviation. It will be seen that the results are, in both cases, very nearly the

same, and that in only one instance does the average deviation exceed one-third of the average.

TABLE II

Erec.....	347 ± 120
Cligès.....	396 ± 96
Lancelot.....	395 ± 94
Yvain.....	568 ± 144

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LES IDÉES ESTHÉTIQUES DE M^{lle} DE SCUDÉRY

DEPUIS VICTOR COUSIN c'est un lieu commun de l'histoire littéraire que M^{lle} de Scudéry est la créatrice du roman psychologique en France.¹ Mais ce sont la *Carte de Tendre* et la fameuse anatomie du cœur, ce sont les interminables cours d'amour dans le *Grand Cyrus* et *Clélie* qui étaient toujours la base de cette opinion.

Chose curieuse, les historiens du roman au XVII^e siècle² ne connaissent guère la préface d'*Ibrahim*, premier roman de Madeleine. Sainte-Beuve³ fait mention du passage de *Clélie* où Scudéry se prononce sur *l'art de composer* des fables, Waldberg⁴ cite le même passage tiré du second volume des *Conversations sur divers sujets*, qui publiées vingt ans après *Clélie*, ne sont que des extraits des romans de notre auteur.

Mais la préface d'*Ibrahim* ne pourrait être négligée dans l'histoire du roman français: elle fait voir que dès 1641, M^{lle} de Scudéry avait une conception très nette, bien qu'erronée du roman. Elle veut suivre les grands *exemples*, elle désire observer des *règles*: "Chaque Art a ses regles qui . . . mènent à la fin qu'on se propose." En vraie élève d'Horace, elle veut imiter les auteurs grecs: "Dans ces fameux Romans de l'Antiquité, à l'imitation du Poeme Epique, il y a une action principale, où toutes les autres sont attachées, qui regne par tout l'ouvrage; qui fait qu'elles n'y sont employées que pour la conduire à la perfection." Elle demande que les épisodes ne soient point oiseux, "que l'on n'y puisse voir rien de détaché ny d'inutile." Ce sont les préceptes d'Horace qu'elle suivra pour la construction, ce qu'elle oublie d'ailleurs de dire; les anciens avaient commencé par "le milieu pour donner la suspension au lecteur des l'ouverture du Liure." Conformément à cette règle, elle a commencé tous ses romans *in media re*; elle y a dérogé seulement

¹ *La Société française au XVII^e Siècle*, II, 124.

² Koerting, Morillot, Le Breton, Wurzbach, Saintsbury.

³ *Causeries du Lundi*, IV, 132.

⁴ *Der sentimentale Roman in Frankreich*, I, Trübner, Strassburg, 1906.

dans *Mathilde d'Aguilar*, son dernier ouvrage et ce n'est pas un roman, mais une nouvelle. A l'instar de la tragédie, dont l'action ne peut durer que vingt-quatre heures, "les anciens ont fait (et moy après eux) que l'Histoire ne dure qu'une année & que le reste est par narration."

Mais *Sapho* se rend bien compte que la construction n'est pas l'unique qualité essentielle du bon roman: "Entre toutes les regles . . . celle de la vraysemblance est la plus necessaire, elle est comme la pierre fondamentale de ce bastiment. . . . I'ay donc essayé de ne m'en éloigner iamais, j'ay observé pour cela les mœurs, les coùtumes, les loix, les religions et les inclinations des peuples,"⁵ Voilà la demande de la couleur locale, formulée bien avant le romantisme, même bien avant Boileau. Malheureusement, on sait comment Sapho a suivi cette règle,—le *Brutus galant* et le *bureau d'esprit de Lucrèce* en sont de frappantes caricatures. Mais ajoutons que l'*Ibrahim* est le roman le moins caricatural de Madeleine: c'est son ouvrage le plus lisible et le plus sain.⁶

Tous les romans de Scudéry appartiennent au genre pseudo-historique. La paraphrase suivante de l'*Art Poétique* d'Horace⁷ fournit la preuve que ce n'est pas par hasard qu'elle a mis l'action de ses romans au passé: "I'ay voulu que les fondemens de mon ouvrage fussent historiques, mes principaux personnages marquez dans l'Histoire veritable, comme les personnes illustres & les guerres effectiues." Si le lecteur sait que tel ou tel roi, telle ou telle reine ne sont que des caractères inventés par l'auteur, il ne peut être touché par leurs aventures imaginaires. Ainsi, suivant la bonne recette d'Horace,⁸ "le mensonge & la verité sont confondus par une main adroite, l'esprit a peine à

⁵ Des siècles, des pays étudiez les mœurs:

Les climats font souvent les diverses humeurs (Art poétique, III, 113-4).

⁶ L'*Ibrahim* fut trop négligé par l'histoire littéraire: c'est une remarquable transition entre le roman galant et le roman réaliste. L'influence espagnole y est évidente: l'*Histoire du feint Astrologue* est le remaniement d'une comedia de Calderón de la Barca (El Astrólogo Fingido), l'histoire du *Trop bon Esclave* est une imitation de la nouvelle picaresque.

⁷ Ex noto fictum carmen sequar (Epist. ad Pisones, 240).

Rectius Iliacum carmen deducis in actus

Quam si proferres ignota indictaque primus (Epist. ad Pisones, 129-130).

⁸ Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,

Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet inum (Epist. ad Pis. 151-2).

les demesler & ne se porte pas aisement à detruire ce qui luy plaist."

Donc le cadre historique du roman n'était point un élément essentiel aux yeux de M^{lle} de Scudéry, comme il le fut pour le roman historique depuis le romantisme. Ce n'est qu'un prétexte pour ne pas sortir des bornes de la vraisemblance. Mais en même temps, par une singulière tendance au réalisme⁹ et tout en copiant certaines idées d'Horace, elle anticipe ce Boileau qui l'a rendue impossible à tout jamais.¹⁰

Le passage suivant de la préface de *Ibrahim* nous rappelle encore les invectives de Boileau. C'est une critique sévère des romans d'Amadis et, peut-être, une allusion au *Polexandre* de Gomberville: "Nous auons autrefois veu des Romans qui nous produisaient des Monstres; en pensant nous faire voir des Miracles, leurs Autheurs, pour s'attacher trop au merueilleux, ont fait des grotesques, qui tiennent beaucoup des visions de la fièvre chaude." Que les événements soient naturels,—ce qui est plus merveilleux que le surnaturel. Si M^{lle} de Scudéry n'en était pas restée à la théorie, elle aurait bien pu créer le vrai roman réaliste.

Au nom de la vraisemblance, elle condamne les naufrages, motif si fréquent du roman grec: "C'est par cette raison encore que ie n'ay point causé tant de naufrages, comme il y en a dans quelques anciens romans." Ces auteurs renversent tout l'univers si l'envie leur en prend. "Ce n'est pas que ie pretende bannir les naufrages des Romans . . .," elle les emploie elle-même, "mais comme tout excès est vicieux, ie ne m'en seruiss que modérément pour conseruer la vraysemblance. . . ." Elle ne veut pas que ses héros passent par tant d'aventures et de vicissitudes que ceux des autres romanciers de son époque,—on se rappelle le mot de Boileau à propos de Mandane!—: ". . . il vaut mieux separer les auantures, en former diuerses Histoires; & faire agir plusieurs personnes; afin de paroistre & d'estre tousiours dans cette vray-semblance si necessaire." Il est

⁹ Donc elle prend part à cette générale tendance *naturaliste* de la poésie classique. Cf. G. Lanson: *Boileau*, Paris, Hachette, 1892, p. 95.

¹⁰ On sait que Boileau a respecté Sapho, en dépit de sa mordante satire, qu'il n'a pas publiée du vivant de Madeleine, ne voulant pas donner ce chagrin à une fille qui après tout, avait beaucoup de mérite (Discours sur le Dialogue des Héros de Romans).

ridicule qu'un seul héros mette toute une armée en déroute. "Il est hors de doute que pour présenter la véritable ardeur héroïque, il faut lui faire exécuter quelque chose d'extraordinaire," mais il ne faut pas forcer la note, car autrement "on ne touchera point l'esprit." Qu'on se garde d'une prédilection exagérée des aventures: "Ceux qui ne font qu'entasser aventures sur aventures, sans ornemens, & sans exciter les passions par les artifices de la Rhétorique sont ennuyeux."

Il est fort remarquable ce qu'elle entend sous ces "ornemens de la Rhétorique." Elle veut sonder ce que ses caractères ont pensé, nous dirions *éprouvé* dans les différentes situations. N'y voyons pas un dessein prémédité de creuser l'âme humaine à la manière d'un Bourget ou d'un Estaunié,—c'est un prétexte à rhétorique comme les tirades de l'*Enéide* ou celles des *Héroïdes* d'Ovide, qui ont certainement influencé Scudéry, ou les monologues des pseudo-tragédies de Sénèque, lieux communs de l'antiquité; toute considération faite, cette conception primitive ne manque pas d'avoir des rapports directs avec l'analyse psychologique. "Certains auteurs se sont contentés de nous assurer qu'un tel Héros pensa de fort belles choses sans nous les dire & c'est cela seulement que je desirois savoir. . . . *Ce n'est point par les choses du dehors, ce n'est pas par les caprices du destin, que je veux juger de lui: c'est par le mouvement de son âme et par les choses qu'il dit.*" Voilà le principe du roman d'analyse bien défini: d'ici à la *Princesse de Clèves*, il n'y a qu'un pas.

Que l'exemple unique soit d'Urfé, le grand et incomparable bucolique. Il mérite sa réputation, il est digne de toutes les louanges qu'on lui a prodiguées. Il est fécond en inventions, et—ô surprise!—dans son œuvre tout est naturel et vraisemblable. "Mais entre tant de rares choses, celle que j'estime le plus, est qu'il sçait toucher si délicatement les passions qu'on peut le nommer le *Peintre de l'âme*. *Il cherche dans le fonds des cœurs les plus secrets sentimens.* . . ."

Cet éloge de d'Urfé révèle ce que M^{lle} de Scudéry s'est proposé pour idéal: description et analyse des sentimens délicats. Mais, surtout, c'est l'encyclopédie de l'amour qu'elle veut écrire, en prédécesseur des théoriciens du XIX^e siècle, Stendhal et Bourget.

Trente ans plus tard, Huet, le savant évêque d'Avranché, reprendra ¹¹ presque textuellement ce que Scudéry pense de la portée morale du roman: "La fin principale des Romans, ou du moins celle qui doit l'être, et que se doivent proposer ceux qui les composent, est l'instruction des lecteurs, à qui il faut toujours faire voir la vertu couronnée, et le vice châtié." Elle fait toujours punir le vice: "I'ay mesme eu soin de faire en sorte que les fautes que les Grands ont commises dans mon Histoire, fussent causées par l'amour ou par l'ambition, qui sont les plus nobles passions." Cette tendance moralisatrice s'accusera dans *Clélie*, en dépit de quoi ses romans furent taxés d'immoralité.¹²

Somme toute, la préface d'*Ibrahim* marque un progrès réel dans l'histoire du roman français avant 1641. Sans le ton cassant de Boileau, Scudéry condamne, au nom de la vraisemblance, le fatras des romans de chevalerie trente-trois ans avant l'*Art Poétique*. La vraisemblance joue le même rôle dans la théorie de Scudéry que la raison dans celle de Boileau. Mais l'héroïsme sentimental est encore trop en vogue pour que Scudéry puisse rompre avec le monde enchanté du roman galant et ainsi, elle n'a fait que prouver la vérité du mot de Goethe concernant la *graue Theorie*. C'est au nom de la vraisemblance et sous l'influence d'Horace qu'elle va écrire des romans historiques ou plutôt, qu'elle va mettre l'action de ses romans au passé,—mais elle ne veut point évoquer le génie des âges par les petits documents humains que le roman de l'humanité, l'histoire n'a pas notés. Ce qui est surprenant, ce sont les passages un peu indécis qui manifestent son intérêt pour les secrets de la vie sentimentale. Ce n'est qu'un ornement de rhétorique destiné à embellir le roman, mais tout compte fait, ne dirait-on pas que le motif de cette rhétorique se rapproche déjà du roman d'analyse, qui affranchi des colifichets du pathos pseudo-classique, s'adonnera sans réserve à l'étude du cœur?

Dix-neuf ans passent. En écrivant le X^e volume de *Clélie*, Sapho reprendra les problèmes de la préface d'*Ibrahim*. Dans

¹¹ *Traité de l'Origine des Romans*, 1670. Je le cite d'après l'édition de 1796, p. 4.

¹² "... nonobstant la mauvaise morale enseignée dans ses romans, elle (Scudéry) avait encore plus de probité et d'honneur que d'esprit" (Discours sur le Dialogue des Héros de Romans).

le second livre du volume X de *Clélie*, Anacréon donne lecture de l'Histoire d'Hésiode à une compagnie illustre, qui après la lecture, discute les qualités de cette nouvelle. On dit que l'auteur a heureusement paré l'aride vérité historique des productions de son esprit. L'histoire ne sait rien des amours d'Hésiode; il n'avait été que le confident d'un amoureux,—mais voici que le mensonge est plus probable que la vérité. "Lorsqu'on veut faire arriuer des euenemens fort extraordinaires, il est sans doute bien plus beau d'y introduire l'amour que nulle autre cause . . . Il a donné de vraysemblance à ce qui n'en auoit guere." Anacréon est le porte-parole de Scudéry et en écho des idées de la préface d'*Ibrahim*, il prétend "qu'un homme qui auroit inuenté ce que l'Histoire dit de cette auanture, auroit fait une mauuaise chose (p. 1124). . . . Je me trouue tout disposé à croire que si cela n'est pas, cela peut auuoir esté, n'y ayant sans doute rien qui établisse mieux une fable bien inuentée que ces fondemens historiques ¹³ qu'on entrevoit partout & qui font recevoir le mensonge avec la verité" (p. 1126). Mais il faut bien combiner ces éléments disparates afin que le récit soit vraisemblable: ". . . dés que vous voulez inuenter une fable, vous auez dessein d'estre creu, & le véritable Art du mensonge est de bien ressembler à la verité . . . assurément les choses qui ont du rapport avec la verité, & qui paroissent pouuoir arriuer touchent bien plus que celles, qu'on ne peut ni croire ni craindre" (p. 1129). La vérité n'est pas toujours terre-à-terre, tant s'en faut, d'autre part "les choses incroyables & impossibles sont insupportables." Fidèle aux principes d'Horace, elle demande le juste milieu. "Les choses merueilleuses bien loin d'estre deffendues, sont necessaires, pourueu qu'elles n'arriuent pas trop souuent, & qu'elles produisent de beaux effets, & il n'y a que les choses bizarres ou impossibles qui soient absolument comdamnées. Car le moyen d'estre persuadé de rien quand on a une fois trouué des choses qu'on ne peut croire" (p. 1130).

¹³ Chapelain s'était déjà servi du même argument aristotélien pour la tragédie dans sa *Lettre sur l'Art dramatique*, cf. Arnaud, *Etude sur l'Abbé d'Aubignac*, 1887, Appendice IV, p. 341. La même idée, appliquée au roman, sera reprise par Huet: "La fiction totale de l'argument est plus recevable dans les Romans dont les acteurs sont de médiocre fortune, comme dans les Romans comiques, que dans les grands Romans dont les princes et les conquérants sont les acteurs. . . ." O.c. pp. 9-10.

Comme la vraisemblance est la force motrice du roman, le romancier ne peut pas se passer du monde réel. C'est encore la voix d'Horace¹⁴ qui sonne par le passage suivant: ". . . il faut regarder le monde comme un peintre regarde son modele quand il traualle. Et comme la diuersité est l'ame du monde, il se faut bien garder d'aller faire que tous les hommes soient des Heros, que toutes les femmes soient esgalement belles, que les humeurs des uns & des autres soient semblables & que l'amour, la colere, la ialousie & la haine, produisent tousiours les mesmes effets" (pp. 1131-1132). Que l'exemple soit Homère, "ces diuerses personnes qu'Homere introduit . . . agissent selon le temperament qu'il leur a attribué. . . ." ¹⁵ Ignorant les petits frissons d'âme involontaires, elle attribue donc à l'homme des passions dominantes, des *facultés maîtresses*, ce qui nous rappelle un peu le procédé de Balzac. Mais sans les mille petits détails documentaires qui les humanisent, les caractères de Scudéry restent des ombres, des abstractions fictives qui manquent de toute vie réelle. A son avis, les passions ont une existence à elles, elle les considère comme des organismes détachés de l'homme: "Sur toutes choses il faut bien connoistre la nature des passions, & ce qu'elles peuuent faire dans le cœur de ceux à qui on les a données, apres les auoir depeintes telles qu'elles sont" (pp. 1133-34).

Ses idées sur la couleur locale se sont précisées depuis 1641. ". . . puisque l'on peut inuenter une histoire, pourquoi ne pourroit-on toutes choses & supposer mesme des Pais qui ne sont point? . . . on en auroit moins de curiosité & l'imagination trouuant toutes choses nouuelles, seroit disposée à douter de tout" (p. 1134). Que l'époque où l'action se passe, ne soit ni trop éloignée ni trop près du présent et "qu'on se donne la peine d'etudier bien le siecle qu'on a choisi; . . . de s'assuiettir aux coustumes des lieux dont on parle, de ne faire pas croître des lauriers en des pays où l'on n'en vit iamais; de ne confondre ni

¹⁴ Interit multum Divusne loquatur, an heros,
Maturusne senex, an adhuc florente iuventa
Fervidus; et matrona potens, an sedula nutrix;
Mercatorne vagus, cultorne virentis agelli;
Colchos, an Assyrius; Thebis nutritus, an Argis (Epist. ad Pis. 114-118).

¹⁵ Si quid inexpertum scenae committis, et audes
Personam formare novam, servetur ad imum
Qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet (Epist. ad Pis. 125-127).

les religions, ni les coutumes des peuples qu'on introduit *quoy qu'on puisse avec iugement les accomoder un peu à l'usage du siecle où l'on vit, afin de plaire davantage*" (p. 1136). Cette conception qui est caractéristique de toute la littérature romanesque avant le romantisme, sanctionne l'anachronisme d'une manière frappante et je ne crois guère qu'on l'ait si franchement exprimé ailleurs.¹⁶ Ainsi, Scudéry fausse l'histoire à son escent: elle y introduit de propos délibéré la mentalité de ses contemporains; c'est pour faciliter la lecture de ses romans, pour les *vulgariser* qu'elle agit de la sorte.

Quelles sont les qualités donc qui font le succès du roman? Elle résume ce qu'elle vient de dire de la vraisemblance et ajoute que le roman sera impeccable si "toutes les petites choses qui font connoître le fond du cœur y sont placées à propos, que le vice y soit blâmé, & la vertu récompensée, que l'imagination y soit tousiours soumise au iugement, que les euenements y soient bien fondez, qu'il y ait du sauoir sans affectation, que la galanterie soit partout où il en faut, que le stile n'en soit ni trop esleué ni trop bas & qu'en nul endroit la bienséance ni les bonnes mœurs n'y soient blessées."

Il ne suffit pas que le romancier soit une encyclopédie ambulante: "Pour composer une fable parfaite . . . non seulement il faut auoir tout . . . qui est necessaire à un excellent Historien, mais il faut encore auoir cent connoissances plus estendues & plus particulieres. . . ." Il est fort important que le romancier soit un vrai honnête homme, et une fois de plus: "*il faut sçauoir le secret de tous les cœurs. . .*"

Reste encore la portée morale du roman. "Sur toutes choses, il faut sçauoir oster à la morale ce qu'elle a de rude & de sec."¹⁷ Et si l'on objecte aux romans amoureux, que fera-t-on de l'histoire universelle qui rapporte des aventures bien plus scabreuses que les romans?¹⁸ D'autant plus que "dans une

¹⁶ C'est absolument différent de la correction poétique de l'histoire que Racine admet dans la deuxième préface d'*Andromaque*: "Il ne faut point s'amuser à chicaner les poètes pour quelques changements qu'ils ont pu faire dans la fable; mais s'attacher à considérer l'excellent usage qu'ils ont fait de ces changements. . . ."

¹⁷ De même Huet: "Mais comme l'homme est naturellement ennemi des enseignemens, et que son amour-propre le révolte contre les instructions, il le faut tromper par l'appas du plaisir, et adoucir la sévérité des préceptes par l'agrément des exemples. . . ." O.c. p. 4.

¹⁸ Est-ce par hasard que Huet emploie le même argument? "Il leur faut donc interdire l'histoire, qui rapporte tant de pernicieux exemples. . . ." O.c. p. 125.

fable de la maniere que ie l'entends . . . la modestie y seroit tousiours jointe avec l'amour & l'on n'y verroit iamais d'amours criminelles qui ne fussent malheureuses." Et la lecture d'un tel roman sera recommandable à tout le monde—aux dames et aux enfants,—ce sera la propagande de la vertu. Même la religion en profitera: l'impiété sera bannie du bon roman et les dieux seront toujours dûment respectés (p. 1144).

Il est manifeste que cette seconde conception des idées de Scudéry n'est que l'approfondissement de ce qu'elle avait déjà arrêté en 1641. Ici, elle insiste un peu davantage sur la vraisemblance et va jusqu'à exiger la copie de la réalité; suivant les instructions d'Horace, elle demande des caractères variés et conséquents. Elle veut sonder les coins et recoins du cœur, connaître à fond la nature des passions. La couleur locale est de rigueur, mais on est libre de rajeunir le passé. Que le romancier soit homme du monde, poète et savant en même temps, *doctus poeta*. Et finalement, elle proteste contre les détracteurs du roman.

On a vu tout cela, ou à peu près, dans la préface d'*Ibrahim*. La différence essentielle est que, en 1660, Sapho insiste davantage sur la connaissance du cœur. Elle demande que les caractères ne se contredisent point dans leurs actions,—ce n'est certes pas de la psychologie impressioniste, on dirait que c'est une version sentimentale du *Traité des Passions* de Descartes. Nul doute, de cette façon elle passe jugement sur tous les romans galants de son temps—y compris les siens. Néanmoins, on peut constater qu'avec la demande de l'étude des *petites choses qui font connoître le cœur*, le principe du roman psychologique fut définitivement formulé en France,—du moins en théorie.

La connaissance des dates et des faits n'est pas quantité négligeable en dépit des attaques récentes qui se dirigèrent contre l'histoire littéraire *positiviste* en Amérique et en Allemagne. M. Waldberg cite les idées esthétiques de Scudéry du second volume des *Conversations sur divers Sujets*, publié en 1680, ignorant que ce n'est qu'une réimpression textuelle vingt ans après *Clélie*. Mais les paroles de Waldberg jettent une lumière singulière sur l'importance qu'il faut attacher aux opinions de Sapho, *mutatis mutandis*: "Mit rührender Selbstverleugnung

hat hier Mademoiselle de Scudéry das Idealbild einer Erzählung entworfen, das sicher nicht auf ihr eigenes Schaffen berechnet war . . . man merkt deutlich, dass ihr bei den meisten Bestimmungen die zeitgenössische Produktion vorgeschwebt hat . . . *Madame de Lafayette und ihre Nachfolgerinnen haben die praktischen Belege dafür geboten*, und in diesen Grenzen bewegen sich auch die Frauenromane, die nach dem Erscheinen der Scudéryschen Ausführungen in die Öffentlichkeit traten. . . .¹⁹ Aber auch die Forderungen, welche die innere Form betreffen, werden gewissenhaft beachtet und besonders die "petites choses qui font connaître le fond du cœur" mit peinlichster Gewissenhaftigkeit ausgeführt."²⁰

Passons sous silence la "modestie touchante" avec laquelle Scudéry se serait placée à l'arrière-plan d'après le pas de clerc du professeur de Heidelberg; par cet "idéal du roman," elle pouvait bien influencer M^{me} de La Fayette et ses épigones, mais assurément elle ne s'est point servie de leurs œuvres pour établir les règles de l'art du roman. C'est la *Princesse de Clèves* qui a réalisé les idées de Sapho: la préface d'*Ibrahim* et la poétique de *Clélie* en sont l'avant-propos immédiat et direct. Serait-on trop loin de la vérité en affirmant que ce sont les idées théoriques de Scudéry plutôt que sa *Carte de Tendre* qui ont influencé M^{me} de La Fayette.²¹ Les innombrables problèmes d'amour dont Scudéry cherche la solution à la manière des cours d'amour fabuleuses du moyen âge, les cas de conscience multiples et alambiqués dont se torturent ses héros et ses héroïnes, nous semblent de vains jeux d'esprit aujourd'hui. Mais tout en analysant la *funeste passion*, abstraction anémique dans ses romans, elle pratiquait déjà cette fameuse *anatomie du cœur*. Ce n'était point de la psychologie individualiste, mais

¹⁹ O.c. p. 188.

²⁰ O.c. p. 189.

²¹ Rappelons encore une fois que des points essentiels de la thèse de Huet, publiée en tête de *Zayde*, ne font que reprendre les idées de Scudéry: a) de même que Scudéry, Huet exige que le roman soit un ouvrage pédagogique, didactique et édifiant; b) il apporte le même argument pour prouver la nécessité du cadre historique; c) en faisant l'apologie du roman, il se réfère aussi à l'histoire universelle; l'éloge de cette *illustre fille* (*Traslé*, pp. 128-129) est significatif, bien que Le Breton dise que "au goût de Huet, les ouvrages de Scudéry n'étaient pas encore des romans parfaits" (Le Breton, *Le Roman au XVII^e Siècle*, Hachette, p. 247).

un répertoire primitif de l'âme de l'Homme, être abstrait ou plutôt extrait de tous les mortels.

Il faut encore appliquer cette analyse générale à un cas individuel,—il ne reste que la mise en pratique de ces idées qui étaient aptes à créer le vrai roman psychologique,²²—et on aura ce premier roman moderne, la *Princesse de Clèves*.

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²² Un essai de M. J. Warshaw (*The Epic-Drama Conception of the Novel*, MLN XXXV, 269 ss.) développe la thèse que c'est la tragédie qui avait eu une influence décisive sur la genèse du roman psychologique. Tout en admettant que la *Princesse de Clèves* est "une transposition du tragique cornélien dans le roman" (G. Lanson, *Hist. de la Litt. fr.* 17, p. 490), ne pourrait-on pas supposer qu'il y eut des rapports de filiation directe entre la *Princesse de Clèves* et les idées de M^{lle} de Scudéry, qui—témoin le cas de Waldberg—projettent une image si vivante du roman d'analyse?

THE SOURCE OF LOPE DE VEGA'S *EL CASTIGO DEL DISCRETO*

ALTHOUGH several of Lope de Vega's *comedias* have been shown to have their origin in Italian *novelle*, no one has yet, so far as I know, pointed out that *El Castigo del discreto* is based on Bandello's *novella* (I, 35) entitled "Nuovo modo di castigar la moglie ritrovato da un gentiluomo veneziano."¹ Wurzbach, one of the commentators on Lope de Vega's theatre, recognized, it is true, the story of the play as a familiar one, but failed to state, if he knew it, the direct source of the *comedia*.² Other critics have been content to note the unusual, farcical nature of the plot.³

Possibly the main reason for not suspecting the origin of the play lies in its completely Spanish atmosphere. Even the beating of the adulterous minded wife might seem to indicate as much the influence of native as of Italian farce. At the same time, in adapting Bandello's *novella*, Lope preserved its main outline and characters, not even troubling to change the heroine's name. As in the *novella*, a married woman falls in love with a stranger; her husband intercepts a letter intended for him, appears disguised as the lover and beating her, cures

¹ M. Bandello, *Novelle*, in *Scrittori d'Italia*, vol. v, pp. 48 ff. This *novella* seems to have been the source of a similar tale told by Giraldi Cintio in his *Ecatommisti* (III, 4).

² "In *El castigo del discreto* finden wir die alte Geschichte von dem Edelmann, der entdeckt, dass seine Frau ihn betrüge, an Stelle des erwarteten Geliebten bei ihr erscheint und sie so durchprügelt, dass ihr in Zukunft ähnliche Gedanken vergehen." (*Lope de Vega und seine Komödien*, 1899, p. 221.)

³ Professor Américo Castro, the first to call attention to the play's unusual treatment of a problem of honor, says: "Vuelvo a insistir aquí (v. pág. 29, n.) sobre la singularidad notable de *El castigo del discreto*. Quizá el desenlace bufo, propio de una farsa, explique en parte que Lope desarrollara una tesis tan extraña dentro de su teatro." (*Algunas observaciones acerca del concepto del honor en los siglos XVI y XVII*, in *Revista de filología española*, vol. iii, 1916, p. 366, n. 2.)

"*El castigo del discreto* es una comedia moral que parece reñir con el género dramático español del tiempo de Lope, y aun con los naturales sentimientos de este mismo respecto del modo de tratar a las mujeres. Curar el amor culpable de una dama noble y de respeto a coces y correazos es lo menos caballeresco que ha podido imaginarse." (Cotarelo y Mori, *Obras de Lope de Vega*, Nueva edición, t. iv, p. x.)

her of her infatuation, while the innocent stranger remains unaware of the whole affair. But although following the main outline of the story, Lope recast it in typically Spanish dramatic form. Honor, which does not enter into the Italian story, is, as might be expected, made much of in the *comedia*. In general, the additions and variations of the play were called for by the exigencies of Lope's theatre. The four characters of the *novella* could hardly suffice for a *comedia*; Lope provided additional characters and a subplot of love and jealousy, intrigue and clashes over honor, such as delighted his audiences. The hero of the subplot replaces the friar of the *novella* as the stranger. The new characters are the familiar ones of the gallant, the lady, the latter's punctilious brother, the 'gracioso,' and among others the men and maid servants so necessary to the success of their masters' and mistresses' schemes.

Although Lope was not always successful in his adaptations, one cannot but feel that in this play, by motivating the wife's conduct and omitting the scatological element of the punishment, he improved on his Italian original.⁴

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FRENCH SOLEIL

FROM § 76 of the *Welsh Grammar* of J. M. Jones (Oxford, 1913), we learn that **sāuelios* is the basis of Welsh *haul* 'sun.' This explains the *o* of French *soleil*. The old form *soueil* corresponds to **sōliculum*; *soleil* is a blend of Celtic and Latin, with *o* from *au* as in *oreille* < *auricula*.

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⁴For a further consideration of this play, including its relation to *comedias* of Lope dealing with conjugal honor, see my edition of it to be published shortly by the *Instituto de las Españas*.

REVIEWS

Les Contes de Perrault et les récits parallèles, leurs origines (coutumes primitives et liturgies populaires), par P. Saintyves. Paris, E. Nourry, 1923, xxiii + 646 pp.

The author, whose works have not, in this country, received quite the attention they deserve,¹ in writing this folkloristic commentary of Perrault's tales, proposes a new theory to account for the rise of two classes of fairy tales, viz., (1) stories of seasonal origin, (2) stories which have their root in initiation rites. For a third he is inclined to accept M. Bédier's agnosticism. It will be seen that for the first two classes his thesis is in the main an elaboration of the late Andrew Lang's theory, namely, that the modern folk-tales contain features of savagery and must therefore go back to an unknown past of human development. M. Saintyves' contribution lies in his assumption of mummers' plays and initiation rites as the basis of a number of tales, not customs and beliefs pure and simple.

Let us say at once that for a number of tales, especially for the *Cinderella* cycle and the *Blue Beard* type, the author has unquestionably proved his thesis with the material adduced. In other cases, such as the tale of *Little Red Riding Hood* and *Puss in Boots*, his material is insufficient and his argumentation forced. But it is far less with the results that I must register my dissent than with the method followed, which is indeed open to grave objections.

In the first place it may be seriously doubted whether Perrault's versions are always the most convenient *points d'attache* for a commentary of this kind, as some of his tales are badly mutilated, while others, for example his *Belle au bois dormant*, are artificial compounds of more than one type. It certainly would have been well to point out these shortcomings in each case and to put some complete and perfect tale from some other collection at the head of the commentary.

In the second place (and this point is of considerable importance) the author does not appear to realize at all the significance of the so-called fairy tale "types."² For not only are the motifs which constitute a folk-tale *not* combined arbitrarily in a kaleidoscopic fashion, but these motifs are so well invented and put together that they form in each case an organic whole which can have been composed only *once*, the product of *one* individual mind, in a definite time and in a definite locality, from which it then started on a migration often over entire continents. This fact, the importance of which can hardly be under-estimated, has been amply proved by the researches of the late O. Dähnhardt³ and of the Finnish school of folklorists, mostly embodied in the *FF Communications*, works which do not appear in the author's bibliography. But if migration is an ascertained fact, it is clear that a folk-tale

¹ I note the following works: *Les Saints successeurs des dieux*, 1907; *Les Vierges mères et les naissances miraculeuses*, 1908; and *Le Discernement du miracle* 1909, all reviewed in *Zeitsch. d. Vereins f. Volksk.*, XX, 1910, p. 228; *Essais de folklore biblique*, 1922, and a series of articles in the *Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie*.

² On p. 256 we find the statement: "Après avoir réuni un nombre important de variantes (on ne peut songer à les rassembler toutes), . . ." Certainly, in Paris one should be able to think of collecting if not all, at least a vast majority.

³ *Natursagen*, Leipzig, 1907-12.

cannot have arisen out of the ritual of any country of the many in which it is found now. It can have developed only out of rites practised in the country of its origin. It would therefore have been advisable to undertake some preliminary researches into the place of origin of each tale, or, if this was found to take too much time, at least to make use of some existing studies which thus traced some types of Perrault's collection. To illustrate what I mean: For the *Cinderella* type we have the admirable work of Miss Cox. A superficial glance at her outlines suffices to show that the most perfect versions of all the three sub-types she discusses are Mediterranean, some East Mediterranean; and a little enquiry into ancient ritual would have revealed the fact that the Mesopotamian *Sacaea* furnish a far better parallel than the Bohemian rite adduced by the author (p. 132). As a matter of fact, this was pointed out by R. Eisler⁴ as early as 1910; and since then Sir J. G. Frazer proved that the Jewish Esther myth actually goes back to that Babylonian Carnival.⁵ Eisler's work remained unknown to M. Saintyves, and of Sir James' he does not appear to have noticed the full bearing on the *Cinderella* tale.

In a number of points M. Saintyves is more confident of certain assumptions than the known facts would warrant. Thus he sees in the fairies and dwarfs spirits of the wild, rejecting Spencer's and Liebrecht's theory that they are essentially the spirits of the dead (pp. 18-21 and 47). But it would seem that many of the features peculiar to the Irish *side* folk and the German *Hurlemännchen* can be far better explained by the assumption of ancestor cults, while in practice it is usually impossible to distinguish between spirits of the wild and spirits of the dead as both are inextricably interwoven, and this is true for Modern China as it was true for Ancient Greece. The name of Dame Holle may have been introduced into the tale at a late date, and it is therefore not advisable to operate with her too much, not at least until we know more about the history of the fairy tale type in question. Neither was she a water nymph (p. 21), but rather an old earth goddess (recent investigators into ancient Teutonic religion deny her existence altogether, wrongly, I think). It is an unwarranted assumption to claim Germany as the home of *Little Red Riding Hood* so long as the history of the type is unknown. I know a fine Chinese version of this tale.⁶ On p. 162 mention could have been made of Přemysl's shoes, still kept in Vyšehrad and shown (I have no doubt) to the visitors.

Finally, there are a number of errors and oversights which had better be corrected in a second edition. The Celtic year did not begin on February 1st (p. 16), but on Samhain (November 1st). On p. 193 the father of Catskin is identified with all-devouring Time. Is it necessary to repeat the valid arguments so often put forward to refute the absurd equation $Kronos = \chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$? Time is nothing to the happy folk of primitive times. They do not give it any thought, much less dream of introducing it into their mummers' plays. The man who invented clocks may have been, as Heine puts it, "ein frierend trauriger Mann," but he certainly was no primitive. The ancient rite (adduced on p. 339) of marching between the severed parts of an animal when taking an oath has no bearing on the subject discussed (the youth swallowed by a monster as an initiation rite).⁷ The fables of Marie de France were not translated from Latin into Old English by King Henry I, or any other king. A

⁴ *Wellenmantel und Himmelszelt*, München, 1910, p. 166.

⁵ Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Scapegoat*, London, 1913, pp. 364 ff.

⁶ R. Wilhelm, *Chinesische Volksmärchen*, Jena, 1921, p. 19.

⁷ Cf. also S. Reinach, "Le Sacrifice de Tyndare," in *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, v, Paris, 1923, p. 124.

look at Mall's study² or Warnke's critical edition of the work would have explained the matter.

The variety of the material marshalled by the author and the multiplicity of facts adduced will be apparent. Their value will not be diminished by the criticism I thought necessary to make and the reservations I pointed out. In the study of folklore a good deal depends upon the individual viewpoints of the investigators and if anywhere it is here that the old adage holds true: "Tout chemin mène à Rome."

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ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE

Les Relations de voyages du XVII^e siècle et l'évolution des idées. Contribution à l'étude de la formation de l'esprit du XVIII^e siècle, par Geoffrey Atkinson. E. Champion, Paris, 1924, vi + 220 pp.

Dr. Atkinson, author of two books on extraordinary voyages in French literature,¹ has just published a third volume on the 'relations de voyages' or 'voyages réels' (*op. cit.*, p. 2), in France during the seventeenth century. In this most recent publication of his, he proposes to examine these books from the angle of their contribution to the history of ideas.

He refers to books on India, Japan, the Near East and Persia, draws many of his examples from books on China, and perhaps a greater part still from those concerning the inhabitants of the New World, attracted to that "exotisme américain" which has already been the subject of several publications by M. G. Chinard.² French critics have commented of late, our author says (p. 182), on the apparent break of continuity in thinking between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, a break not explained by the great names of the seventeenth century. M. G. Lanson has pointed out³ that in lesser 'genres', such as letters, mémoires, etc., one finds, between 1670 and 1715, traces of the 'esprit philosophique' of the eighteenth century. These ideas also appear in some of the "Imaginary Voyages" by 'libertins' of the seventeenth century, but, notes the author (p. 183), no careful study has been made of the genuine 'relation de voyage' as concerns its contribution to the ideas of the times, and such a study is worth while. M. Chinard⁴ had also noted the importance of the 'relations' in this connection. To show the recurrence of ideas between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, Dr. Atkinson cites from Montaigne his philosophical deductions drawn from 'relations,' thus showing the mental process that the author is looking for in the seventeenth century. These well-known deductions are: comment on the dubious blessings of civilization, on the importance attached to tradition and custom, and on the doctrine of the 'bon sauvage' (pp. 10-11). The influence of Las Casas' stories of the New World in the formation of this last idea of Montaigne's, showing as it does how much the latter owes to the 'relations,' has been ably discussed by M. Chinard in *L'Exotisme américain* (pp. 209). Montaigne's rôle as defender of the

¹ *Zeitsch. f. rom. Philologie*, ix, 1885, p. 161.

² *The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature before 1700*, New York, 1920; *The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature from 1700 to 1720*, Paris, 1922.

³ *L'Exotisme américain dans la littérature française au XVI^e siècle, d'après Rabelais, Ronsard, Montaigne, etc.* Paris, 1910. *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle*. Paris, 1913.

⁴ *La formation de l'esprit philosophique du XVIII^e siècle*, in *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, décembre 1907-décembre 1909.

⁵ *L'Exotisme américain, etc.*, p. 246.

Indian may well bring up the question as to whether, in discussing the tradition of the 'bon sauvage,' enough emphasis has been put on the element of sympathy for the 'under dog,' especially in a century of 'sensibilité,' such as the eighteenth, for instance. All these ideas of Montaigne's do appear in the 'relations' he is studying, and the author notes the critical trend of the books, either by comparisons unfavorable to the French, or by praise of foreign customs. He also takes into account the desire of the traveller to present everything that he has seen as unusual and wholly desirable (pp. 63-65), a state of mind not entirely unknown to modern travellers, and one finds many allusions to liberty and equality in the tomes, although the author rather questions the accuracy of such expressions, to our modern sense, from the pen of men who think in terms of the pomp and circumstance of European courts (p. 26). The author then discusses what he calls the "républiques d'outre-mer," 'république' having a very broad interpretation and being used to refer to native tribes who have suffrage and an elected chief, to French colonies under governmental auspices, to the Christian colonies of the Jesuits for their native converts, and to plans for Huguenot settlements after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a very informative passage, by the way (pp. 57-62), with excerpts from one of the 'projets' of the times. From these settlements came tales of greater personal and political liberty, and greater business opportunities than Occidental Europe afforded. That some of this material was nothing but advertisement is more than likely (p. 55); we can find examples of that sort of thing in our own times. But the important fact remained that the reading public was getting accustomed to the idea of: "natural and happy social units where absolute monarchy did not exist" (p. 50). We might wish that Dr. Atkinson had given us more detailed results of the great amount of reading that must have gone to the making of this book, to judge by the references and the bibliography, although he disclaims any pretensions of having read all the travel-literature of the period. The first part of the book suffers from condensation, and would gain in clearness by developing certain sections.

After having examined material referring to native races in the Americas, we turn to the opinions of the Orientals—the Chinese. Tales were brought back of their good economic system (pp. 83-84), their lofty moral code attained without the help of Christianity (pp. 87-89), to which at first they were not ill-disposed (p. 96), although they later condemned Christian miracles (pp. 151-152). Comment from a lettered race who separated morality from cult was a novelty, for until the sixteenth century, both sides in the most bitter religious strife in Europe accepted the Bible as the basis of their thinking (p. 110). The author does not bring out very clearly here the distinction he makes between the failure of Mohammedanism to influence European thinking and the palpable influence of Chinese religious thought and philosophy. Other unorthodox ideas found in these 'relations' are: the idea of the immortality of the soul is found among primitive tribes, hence it did not need a revealed religion to give it to man (pp. 137-140), that the Virgin birth is to be found in the traditions of the Orient (pp. 140-144), that Chinese chronology in no way agrees with that of the Bible, etc., all this being accompanied by a running commentary highly unfavorable to Christians, priest or layman alike (pp. 150-159). To these must be added other characteristic ideas of the eighteenth century, such as ideas of progress (pp. 164-168), of the influence of climate on a people (pp. 169-171), of traces of 'sensibilité' (pp. 175-177), the author attributing to this emotion certain criticism of the horrors of war. This scarcely seems conclusive in itself, for it is the only example of the development of that feeling given. In the sixteenth century both Rabelais

and d'Aubigné wrote against war, yet one does not think of them as "des âmes sensibles." One could also differ from the author's statement on page 179 when he says:

"La méthode qui se base sur les expériences et non sur l'autorité, la recherche des faits et non des subtilités de raisonnement, toute la méthode expérimentale qui a rendu possible la science moderne, les façons de penser qui distinguent ceux de nos jours d'avec ceux de la Renaissance, tout cela est déjà indiqué par deux petites phrases de Thevenot."

Surely this is rather a sweeping statement to make concerning Renaissance thinking,—*vide* Rabelais and his experiments in dissection, for instance.

In conclusion, Mr. Atkinson reviews the main points touched upon in his book and ends as follows:

"Les auteurs de voyages semaient depuis un siècle les idées qu'on trouve chez Montaigne, appuyées par l'observation et par l'expérience des voyageurs eux-mêmes. Les nouveaux faits devenaient de plus en plus connus. On les acceptait de plus en plus volontiers.

"Les esprits étaient donc depuis longtemps mis en présence de faits contraires à la tradition. Le terrain se préparait. Il n'appartenait pas à l'érudit Bayle de vulgariser ces idées et de leur donner la fortune éclatante qu'elles devaient avoir au XVIII^e siècle. Mais cette fortune, il me semble impossible de l'expliquer complètement si l'on ne tient pas compte de l'influence lente, mais soutenue, exercée sur les esprits du temps par les relations des voyageurs. Le public y trouvait depuis de longues années, des observations, dues à l'expérience de ces voyageurs dans de pays lointains, qui le préparèrent insensiblement à accepter les grandes formules d'une époque nouvelle" (pp. 194-195).

The above outline will give an idea of the content and scope of this suggestive contribution to the intellectual history of the period. There is a very full bibliography, although the title of the book by M. Lichtenberger referred to on page 183 is not given, and in the very detailed name-index the word *Dieu* is not listed, a word that appears on many pages of the text.

The book casts an interesting light on our oft-discussed international thinking, and on the contribution made by the knowledge of Oriental and Native American customs and laws in influencing European ideas of government and religion. Truly the international mind is not a new product.

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The Affirmative Particles in French. By John Gordon Anderson, Univ. of Toronto Press, 1923, 104 pp.

Dr. Anderson presents in this thesis a detailed historical account of *oui*, to explain "how this affirmative particle in modern French came to exist." The author advances no new theory. Prof. A. Tobler in 1876 was the first to give the original significance of *oui* as the survival of one of the persons of a hypothetical paradigm of affirmatives in Old French: *o je, o tu, o il*, etc.¹ After an historical survey (chap. i), the author examines, as a basis, Latin affirmation (chap. ii). Altho rich in such *certo, certe, etiam, sane, sic, valde, vero, verum*, repetition of pronoun + *istic*, vicarious verbs, etc., the Latin texts yield no traces of an affirmative peculiar to the province of Gaul. Coming to the Old French texts (chap. iii), the author finds that confusion as to the etymological meaning had soon become prevalent, with the result that *oui* was in many parts of France a generalized affirmative even at the time of the earliest

¹ Darmesteter's *Historical French Grammar*, p. 383, Hartog's Translation, N. Y., 1899.

testimony of it in the language. Dr. Andison supplements the affirmatives with the corresponding negatives *naje*, *ne vos*, etc. He attributes the utmost importance to the adoption of *oil* as the neuter particle (to replace the etymologically correct *oel* < **hoc* + *illum*, the *illud* of classical Latin) in order to show the numerical preponderance of the surviving form (m. and n. sing.—m. plu.), and its final adoption as the general affirmative. A separate chapter (chap. iv) is devoted to *si*, *si fait*, the affirmatives of special cases (the latter also the third person of a hypothetical paradigm).

The author treats most exhaustively the phonological and morphological aspects of the question, the variants in the mss. due to the arbitrary changes of scribes, copyists, and commentators, and discusses, in concluding, the chronology of the subject.

Dr. Andison says (p. 97) that "in the Latin language itself there existed no specific form of affirmation. The immediate results of the absence of this in Latin were, that in order to express affirmation, the people used a great variety of locutions." Rather might one say that the people used such a great variety of locutions for this common linguistic phenomenon of affirmation (as any language will testify) that the texts yield to our eyes no one specific form.

This thesis is a distinct contribution to the bibliography of Romance linguistics.

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CONTEMPORARY MOVEMENTS IN LITERATURE

SPANISH LITERATURE

The increase in the study of modern languages has brought about an intensified interest in the present-day realities of the Latin countries. This development has laid upon scholars and specialists the obligation of emerging occasionally from their delimited fields of study and investigation to establish contact with the modern and current expressions of creative literature in these lands. For this reason THE ROMANTIC REVIEW plans to minister to this need in so far as it may, bringing to the attention of its readers such works or events in the field of modern literature as may be of interest to those who devote themselves to the study of Spanish here. These notes, which will appear from time to time, do not aim to be complete, nor to take the place of publications of a more popular and literary character; their object is rather to serve as a select guide to the literature in the making of the Spanish-speaking nations. Moreover, in the case of the publications of both Spain and Spanish-America it is not always easy to acquire the necessary data, as magazines and adequate organs of diffusion are scarce, and one must resort to the most diverse channels to come by this information.

I

The literary production of Spain in the past months has been characterized, not so much by the appearance of new writers of distinction, but rather by what one might call a "second blooming" of the principal authors of this generation, who already have an ample production to their credit, and who have achieved a reputation of first order both in Spain and abroad. For several years past these authors had been in a frank decline, so evident that their period of creative capacity was looked upon as ended. A coincidence so general was no doubt due to the spiritual unrest which the War created. But today, with their latest works, these authors have, for the moment at any rate, recaptured the preeminence which was earlier theirs. The case of Benavente is an interesting example. After the production of *La malquerida* in 1913 with which he scored his last great success, he entered on a period of undeniable decadence, losing his hold on the Spanish public at the very moment that he began to be recognized abroad. Now, after a long silence, in which it was rumored that he would write no more for the stage, he has returned to the theatre with an excellent drama in three acts, *La otra honra* (presented September 19, 1924). In it reappear those qualities with which he won his real fame, improved even by simplicity and lack of theatrical effects. The plot deals with the tragedy of matrimonial honor, and is worked out on a basis of kindness and self-sacrifice, the only human virtues that withstand the acid test of Benavente's skepticism.

In general, however, the contemporary theatre is in a moment of sterility. Among the interesting productions of the past year one might note *Concha la limpia* (presented February 14, 1924) of the Quintero brothers. In its very nature their purely local art is unchanging, and does not suffer from the fluctuations of style and changes of taste.

The really valuable contributions of the year must be sought among the novelists. The three principal figures of the contemporary novel, Valle-Inclán, Baroja and

Azorín, have in their latest works recalled the best moments of their past. In the case of Valle-Inclán he has even superseded himself, giving masterly expression to the newest tendencies that are stirring among the younger generation.

Azorín has at last been elected to the Academy, the first of the authors who brought about the mistakenly called literary revolution of '98 to receive this dubious honor. Before it was limited to the dramatists of this generation, Benavente, the Quinteros and Linares Rivas. The fact is, however, that the art of the Quinteros, though undeniably meritorious, is completely in keeping with the purest Spanish traditions. Linares Rivas, who occasionally shocks his audiences with a theme so daring as divorce in Spain, is, by and large, the faithful expression of the ideals of the "enlightened" conservative bourgeois. Benavente was the only modernist and innovator among them; but he had given himself completely over to the public, seeking the easy applause that comes from flattering the most general sentiments of an audience. The capitulation of his earlier ideals opened the doors of the Academy to him. Meanwhile the vacancies in the Academy were being filled by unknown nonentities, or new writers in the traditional manner. Valle-Inclán, Baroja, Unamuno, Juan Ramón Jiménez, Antonio Machado remained unchosen, nor did anyone even think of the possibility of their being elected. The only one of the generation whose candidacy seemed feasible was Azorín; though more because of his conservative position in politics, his character of critic and scholar, and the nature of the material of his art, dealing almost wholly with Spain's past, than because of his artistic originality. And notwithstanding, his application was voted down in 1915. All these years have had to pass before he could at last be approved in 1924.

These reflections have seemed pertinent here because they throw light on the state of Spain's literary life. But the real interest to literature in Azorín's admission to the Academy is the volume he prepared in lieu of the conventional speech of entrance, which is most characteristic of him and the furthest removed that can be imagined from a speech. The book is called *Una hora de España* (Madrid, Caro Raggio, 1924), and is composed of a series of short essays, half poetic and half historical evocations of incidents and figures from Spain's past. Following his own peculiar procedure of seeing the whole in one detail, the eternal in the transient, and the universal in the trivial, he has sought to give in one moment of Spain's existence the eternal Spain, and to illuminate her character and her history. This hour, from 1560 to 1590, is the hour in which Spain reached the turning-point of her destiny, in which her glory reached its height and her decadence set in. Azorín has not written an historical disquisition on this problem. But he has made the reality manifest through insignificant details of different scenes: a room in the Escorial, to which, as to Rome, all roads lead, from which the movements of thousands of beings are ruled by the will of a melancholy, sick old man, Philip the Second; a cell in which a mystic monk spins his books aflame with religious ardor, or a reformer conceives new instruments of activity of the Catholic Church; an inn where the chance meeting of a disillusioned traveller, whose own life has been a failure (Cervantes), with a mad, eccentric *hidalgo* brings about the conception of the Quijote. And similarly other scenes, equally subtle, every-day and slight, in which, however, palpitate the most profound historical significance. An event like the destruction of the Invincible Armada is described in a single scene: the bearer of the post who travels without rest or interruption, hastening to deliver the contents of his wallet, wherein is contained the news of the unhappy end of the fleet and so many hopes. With such slight and humble details Azorín conveys the whole historical meaning of this fact which determined the course of future history.

We find ourselves before a work in which Azorín has once more given us the flower of his art, which reached its culmination in *Castilla* (1912), and which, until this latest work, he had achieved only in his *Don Juan* (1922). Azorín's version of the past and the present of Spain (which for him are one and the same thing) is the most intense and original of any contemporary writer, and must be, therefore, one of the first that those who wish to understand Spain should know.

In many things Baroja is the opposed pole to Azorín. For him the past does not exist, unless it be a very near one, like the beginning of the 19th century, which is the background for his series *Memorias de un hombre de acción*. His latest work *Las figuras de cera* (Madrid, Caro Raggio, 1924) continues this series. Baroja is an unflagging producer; he publishes two or three volumes a year. His is a spontaneous literature, sincere to the point of cynicism, full of defects which his enemies never tire of pointing out, and which his admirers have never tried to deny. The fact is that with all these defects it is hard to think of a writer with a more original, more attractive personality than Baroja's. The charm of his originality is heightened by the circumstance of its being perfectly natural and effortless. The pleasure one derives from reading him is even more perplexing in view of the fact that he spares his reader no disagreeable detail. And even more surprising is the absorption with which one follows the action of his novels because they are devoid of what is commonly understood by plot, and are composed of incidental happenings which end in themselves, and lead nowhere. And yet in all this chaos which his works seem at first sight to be, there is a deep underlying unity, and they afford an emotion that is unique. They are filled with a disconcerting sense of life itself, and their very lack of logic and of purpose, together with their infinite variety and surprise, though seemingly in contrast with the purposes of artistic reality—which aims to establish the immutable significance and logic of life—give these works a new unity and depth from which springs their strength.

By his own confession in this latest novel Baroja has tried for the first time in forty novels to consciously dominate the technique of novel-writing. And the strange thing is that when he tried to write a better-constructed novel and to take pains with the form he has been least able to do it. He has discovered the truth of what Galdós, so experienced in the methods of the novel, told him when he published his first novels: that though written spontaneously they had great technique. Just as it has been said that Baroja has no style, when it is impossible to read two lines of his work without recognizing the author immediately. Baroja is a continual surprise, not only for his readers, but for himself as well.

But Baroja does not write only novels. In his novels themselves there is a mingling of the purely esthetic elements such as are the human types, the landscapes, the lyrical or objective emotions with purely cerebral elements. In them the characters and the author himself discuss and pass judgment on everything between heaven and earth. Thus it has easily occurred on different occasions that by merely suppressing the personages and allowing the author to talk alone his novels have been converted into essays. One of Baroja's books published last year, *Divagaciones apasionadas* (Madrid, Caro Raggio, 1924), belongs to this type. It contains a lecture delivered by the author at the Sorbonne in which he discusses himself and his literary labor with a sincerity and originality which could be expected only from him. In it he also passes judgment on other writers. Naturally he says just what he thinks of them, giving expression to his spontaneous reaction and to his personal preferences, without the slightest effort toward detachment; and he often seems disrespectful and unjust. But it would hardly be fair to ask a man who is so unfair toward himself to

be less so toward others. In the same paradoxical and unconventional spirit he discusses such philosophical problems as the definition of culture, or political ones such as the situation of Catalunya. The fact remains that for all his arbitrariness of judgment and his complete disregard for the most firmly established opinions, one often finds in him a basis of truth at which he has arrived thanks to his astonishing ability to divest himself of all prejudices, considerations and respects. And at any event, whether right or wrong, convincing or otherwise, he is always entertaining and amusing.

In contrast to Baroja who takes no thought of art and style—and, if he possesses them, as he does, it is naturally and without effort on his part—the other great contemporary novelist, D. Ramón del Valle-Inclán, novelist and poet, poet always whether in verse or in prose, is the conscious artist of his generation. His production is limited, but exquisite always, and throughout displays a maximum of feeling for all the varied forms of literary beauty. A translation has just appeared in English of his *Sonatas* (*The Pleasant Memories of the Marquis of Bradomin. Four Sonatas*, Translated by May Heywood Broun and Thomas Walsh, New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1924). Although the translators have done all that could be done to make a good translation, it is impossible to translate Valle-Inclán, in whose works every word is an original creation. It is not only a question of the music of the words and rhythm of the prose, but of the suggestive potency and poetic emotion which the words contain, just as in music the purely physical sounds arouse the deepest feelings and associations. For this reason these novels have been called sonatas by their author; the action and the characters, including the Marquis of Bradomin, are the least important in them; the sensations of colors, odors, landscapes which the words call up all unite to form a grand symphony in which the details are lost, and a single emotion, that of the changing seasons in nature and life, remains.

After the *Sonatas* came the series of *Comedias bárbaras* which are full of the beauty and cruelty of the disappearing half-barbarous, half-baronial life of his placid, archaic, medieval Galicia. The last of the series, *Cara de plata* (though chronologically first) appeared in 1923.

The unswerving, undivided absorption of Valle-Inclán in his art, to which he has given his whole life, without a moment's concession to gain or popular favor, has led him to try out the most diverse literary tendencies in the novel, poetry, and the drama, with results that are masterpieces. The common bond between all his work is the seeking after the unusual, that which in one way or another is removed from the vulgar and the prosaic. One of the characteristics of Valle-Inclán's art is the relief which he always gives to the rare and imaginative by means of deliberately introduced notes of crudest realism.

Today, broken in health and far removed, in his native Galicia, from the literary and artistic circles of Madrid that were the breath of life in his nostrils, and of which he was the dynamic center, he is the only one of the contemporary writers who has been able to create new tendencies, and to respond to the newest conceptions of art. One can see this gradual development in several volumes of verse published in the past few years, and, more recently, in his prose works, dialogued novels, which he calls "esperpentos." These works are characterized by the studied cultivation of the ugly and dissonant. They are of a satirical and realistic nature, but the realism is distorted, like figures seen in a concave mirror. The proof of his extraordinary creative gifts lies in the fact that he, whose name for twenty-five years has been synonymous with all that was exquisite and refined, has now created with masterly originality the reverse, a language composed of the most realistic expressions and

slang. It might be called the language of caricature, designed to express the discords and conscious ugliness which is one of the tendencies of the newest feelings in literature as in music and painting. The latest works in this vein are *Luces de Bohemia* (Madrid, 1924) in which appear, thinly veiled and satirically handled, a number of the early Spanish *modernistas*; and two shorter masterpieces, *La rosa de papel* and *La cabeza del Bautista*, in one volume (Madrid, *La novela semanal*, 22 March, 1924). This last is one of the most dramatic and artistically perfect things Valle-Inclán has ever done, and when it was presented on the stage in Madrid it caused a great stir. This potency of Valle-Inclán's maintains his prestige among the newer generation. He is the only one whom they, already in reaction against their predecessors, are willing to call master.

FEDERICO DE ONÍS

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTO DE LAS ESPAÑAS

On the evening of March the 18th, Mr. R. H. Williams delivered a most interesting address before the members of the *Instituto*, the students of Spanish in University Extension and the Institute of Arts and Sciences of Columbia University, on "Recent Impressions of Spain." Mr. Williams sketched the place of Spain among the nations of the world, touched upon late political developments, and concluded the hour by showing about 50 slides made from pictures taken during his recent visit to that country.

On May 4th, Professor William R. Shepherd, of the History Department, gave an address before the *Instituto* on "The Spanish Contribution to American Life and Thought." The able and attractive presentation of this subject by the distinguished historian was greatly appreciated by an audience of 500 persons.

The Graduate Spanish Club of Columbia University, organized under the auspices of the *Instituto de las Españas*, held its second meeting on Wednesday evening, April 1st, in Room 500, Philosophy Hall. On this occasion Mr. D. F. Ratcliff read a very interesting paper on the works of Blanco Fombona, basing his observations largely on "El hombre de hierro." Mr. R. H. Williams gave an enlightening talk on the anonymous continuation of "Lazarillo de Tormes" in which he advanced the theory that the manuscript fragment, first reproduced by R. Foulché-Delbos (*Revue Hispanique*, 1900) and later cited by others, is really a suppressed passage from Chapter XV of the anonymous continuation published in 1555. The prime purpose of the Society is to afford an opportunity for persons interested in Spanish literature to meet and discuss the progress of their research. Members of the *Instituto* are always welcome at these meetings.

The activities of the *Instituto* among the undergraduate students of Spanish in University Extension were organized on February 12th. Mr. O. V. Petty has been appointed faculty representative for the Undergraduate Spanish Club which holds its meetings every other Thursday evening in Room 505, Journalism. The programs are varied in nature, the outstanding number of the evening often being a short address by some guest, while the remainder of the period is devoted to selections rendered by the members.

On the evening of March 21 the Editor had the honor of representing the *Instituto* at the annual dinner given by the Institut des Etudes Françaises. The Istituto di Cultura Italiana was officially represented by its General Secretary, Mr. P. M. Riccio. The guests of honor included E. E. C. Gasqueton, editor of *Echo de Paris*,

and Professor Jean Catel of the Faculty of Montpellier. The occasion was marked by an unusual spirit of enthusiasm, of definiteness of purpose, and of earnest cooperation with the two kindred societies in Italian and Spanish.

Our President, Dr. Homero Seria, is at present attending to the interests of the *Instituto* in Madrid.

Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, a member of our General Executive Council, is at present in the Philippines, acting as the University representative on a Commission created by the U. S. government to make a survey of educational conditions in the Islands. After this work is concluded in May, Dr. Duggan will continue on a world tour which will last through the summer.

As the library of the *Instituto* is now in charge of Mr. D. F. Ratcliff, inquiries concerning it should be addressed to him, care of Columbia University, New York City. Mr. William R. Quynn has been appointed Assistant General Secretary of the *Instituto*.

Our office is in urgent need of a few copies of *La Enseñanza de Lenguas Modernas en los Estados Unidos* by Mr. L. A. Wilkins, which was issued by the *Instituto* in 1922. As the edition has been exhausted, those willing to contribute their copies will perform a real service to the organization by mailing same to the General Secretary.

An important step in the general administration of our publications is the recent agreement entered into with the Columbia University Press whereby the latter has assumed the responsibility for advertising and distributing our publications. The Columbia University Press will act as distributing agent solely.

Señora Isabel O. de Palencia of Madrid, President of the National Feminist Association of Spain, is the official lecturer of the *Instituto* for the present year. Through the cooperation of our office an itinerary of over 40 appointments has been arranged for her which includes many of the leading colleges and universities of the United States. Señora Palencia has brought with her a fine collection of Spanish laces and shawls for display in her lectures.

An increasing interest in things Hispanic is obvious from the large number of notices of trips to Spain received recently. Messrs. Barlow and Piñol, in charge of the "Fifth Annual Tour" of the *Instituto*, wish to announce that the success of the tour is now assured.

Mrs. Helen C. Barden has recently donated to the *Instituto* a sketch by an American artist, Mr. Avery Sharpe, of the patio in which Cervantes is reputed to have written part of *Don Quixote*. Mrs. Barden writes:

"This sketch of the Court Yard where Cervantes penned that part of 'Don Quixote' while imprisoned there, immortalized in history, and so dear to the Spanish heart, was made in a moment of sudden inspiration by the artist, Avery Sharpe, about the year 1890. On his return to America he presented it to my daughter, an accomplished Spanish scholar, who has since passed away. I can think of no more suitable resting place for her little treasure than the *Instituto de las Españas en los Estados Unidos*, to which I am indebted for much assistance and pleasure in the delightful study of their charming languages, to which I hope to give daily attention while life and energy remain."

FRANK CALLCOTT,
Editor, Publications

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. XVI.—JULY-SEPTEMBER, 1925—No. 3

ROMANCE FOLK-LORE AMONG AMERICAN INDIANS

RECENT collections of American Indian folk-lore prove more and more clearly that a great deal of European material has been assimilated by the natives of our continent. Many stories that are at present found among American Indians are versions of well-known European tales, while others that are more thoroughly assimilated can also be shown to be derived from Europe.

The imported material goes back almost entirely to three distinctive sources, French, Spanish and Portuguese, and Negro. The early French settlers brought their tales and beliefs to our continent. How great the wealth of this material was may be seen from the collections of French Canadian folk-lore published in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*.¹ As employees of the Hudson's Bay Company and as independent fur traders they carried their lore over extended areas of the continent.

Quite a variety of French material has become part of Indian lore. Fairy tales like the story of Seven-Heads and John the Bear are found wherever the French fur trader went. Generally these tales retain so much of their European setting that they may be readily recognized as foreign elements, although there are cases in which assimilation has progressed so far that we might be doubtful in regard to their origin, if the plot did not show so clearly their European connections. One of the most widely spread types of French tales includes those relating to the young hero, P'tit Jean, partly fairy tales in which he is made the

¹ *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. 29, No. 111, 1916; Vol. 30, No. 115, 1917; Vol. 32, No. 123, 1919; Vol. 33, No. 129, 1920; Vol. 36, No. 141, 1923.

hero, partly trickster and noodle tales. Even the name has been taken over by the Indians and appears in more or less distorted form, for instance, as Buchetsá among the Shuswap Indians of British Columbia.²

We have records of French stories all over the northern part of the continent from Quebec and Nova Scotia to British Columbia, as well as on the southern plains where French influence was important at an early time. A useful survey of this material has been made by Professor Stith Thompson.³

The region in which Spanish tales are found centers naturally in Spanish America, extending from California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas southward through the American continent wherever the Spaniards came into close contact with the natives. In Brazil Portuguese material, which, however, is practically identical in content with the Spanish material, takes its place. The investigations of Professor Aurelio M. Espinosa, Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons and my own⁴ have shown clearly that a great amount of American Indian material can be traced directly to Spanish sources. We find numerous fairy tales such as Cinderella, Amor and Psyche, Doctor Allwissend, the Swan Maidens, which are general European property and are known to occur in Spain. Many of these are identical with French tales, and we may often be doubtful whether we are dealing with material of French or Spanish origin. This is true particularly of the most widely distributed stories, such as John the Bear or Seven-Heads which are found over the greater part of the continent. Still more extended is the distribution of the Magic Flight story, which in the Old World occurs from Morocco to East Siberia, crosses to the American continent and occurs throughout the whole of the Northwest Coast area in a form that makes it quite certain that it came here before White influence made itself felt. We conclude this from the very intimate connection between this story and the religious concepts of the people, as well as

² James A. Teit, "The Shuswap Indians," *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, Vol. 2, Part 7, p. 733.

³ "European Tales among the North American Indians," *Colorado College Publications, Language Series*, Vol. 2, No. 34, pp. 319-471, Colorado Springs, 1919.

⁴ See *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. 23, p. 3; Vol. 24, p. 398; Vol. 27, p. 211 (Espinosa, for New Mexican Spanish tales); Vol. 25, p. 247 (Boas); Vol. 31, p. 216 (Parsons).

from the close analogy with East Siberian forms of the tale. On the other hand, the same story has been imported into America by French and Spanish colonists, so that it has circled the whole world, and the two currents of dissemination meet on the North Pacific Coast.

The numerous noodle stories of the Southwest are also derived from Spanish sources. This group is not absent in the area in which French material prevails, but so far as our present knowledge goes, tales of this type are not so plentiful there. A few have been recorded by Mr. Teit from the Thompson Indians⁵ in British Columbia, and others are mentioned by Professor Thompson in his general survey of the subject. In the Southwest where Spanish influence predominates they are quite numerous and include stories of the foolish bridegroom, others from the Pedro Urdimales group and many others.

Animal tales of European origin are also quite frequent. Of special interest is the Shuswap tale of the grasshopper contained in Teit's collection,⁶ who amuses himself rather than help the people catch salmon. Later on he starves and is punished by being transformed into a grasshopper who must always jump about and dance and live on grass. This is evidently the well-known La Fontaine fable changed from a moralizing fable into a typical Indian explanatory tale.

In Spanish territory the animal fable of foreign origin is more fully developed. It is particularly fully represented in the Coyote cycle of the Southwest and in the corresponding Tiger cycle of South America.

In order to understand the distribution of these tales we have to consider the dissemination of material apparently of Negro origin. Many of the Indian animal tales of foreign origin are decidedly more similar to American Negro tales than to European ones, and the two groups must have had the same origin. In many cases it is difficult to decide whether their home must be looked for in Spain or in Africa. Collections like those from Angola by Élie Chatelain⁷ and those from Portuguese Southeast

⁵ James A. Teit, "European Tales from the Upper Thompson Indians," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. 29 (1916), pp. 313 et seq.

⁶ *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, Vol. 2, p. 655.

⁷ *Folk-Tales of Angola, Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society*, Vol. 1 (1894).

Africa⁸ contain numerous examples showing that Portuguese folk-lore has penetrated Africa, being carried there at the time of colonization.

The problems presented by animal stories are more difficult. Parallel forms that occur in America and in Africa are common. Striking examples of this type are the Tar Baby stories and the race between a slow and a fleet animal. Many of this group of tales, but not all, are the common property of Europe and Africa, and the question arises as to the relation between these two areas. Gerber⁹ assumed that the American tales are due to Negro influence. This is undoubtedly true in the Southwest and in many parts of Brazil and in other countries where Negro influence is strong. Espinosa and myself have held to the theory that most of these tales are of Spanish provenience and came to America in part directly and in part indirectly from Spain, the latter group being brought here by Negroes who learned the tales in Africa from Spaniards and Portuguese.

We are confronted here with the difficulty that we are lacking evidence of the occurrence of several of these tales in Europe. The Tar Baby story to which I referred before is a characteristic example. Its general distribution among American Indians is such that we must conclude that the story has the same provenience as a large group of stories which can be shown to have come from Spain, but no exact parallel has been recorded in Spain. Professor Espinosa on his recent collecting trip found a Spanish story which undoubtedly belongs to the general cycle of Tar Baby stories, but which differs considerably from the cycle as found among the Negroes and the American Indians. The peculiar distribution of this tale in America and in other Spanish colonies, such as in the Philippines,¹⁰ suggests to my mind that it must have been carried into these areas by the Spaniards shortly after the time of discovery. In North America its distribution coincides essentially with the area of Negro influence, but in

⁸ F. Boas and C. Kamba Simango, "Tales and Proverbs of the Vandau of Portuguese South Africa," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. 35 (1922), pp. 151-204.

⁹ A. Gerber, "Uncle Remus Traced to the Old World," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. 6 (1893), pp. 245 *et seq.*

¹⁰ D. S. Fansler, "Filipino Popular Tales," *Mem. of the Am. Folk-Lore Soc.*, Vol. 12 (1921), p. 327, N. Y.; Espinosa, *Cuentos populares españoles*, Stanford Univ., 1923, p. 80.

Central America and South America it occurs in districts in which assimilation from Negro sources is very unlikely, and where we should be more inclined to look for Spanish sources. The intensity of Spanish influence in the Philippines is best illustrated by the rich Romance literature which is directly derived from Spanish literary and oral sources.¹¹ Although the essential form of the Tar Baby story occurs in the East Indies, the similarity of its setting in America, Africa and the Philippines shows that the forms in these three areas must go back to a common source. The question now arises whether we have the right to assume that the tale is of Spanish origin and was carried by the Spaniards to Africa and later on by African slaves to America. It seems to my mind that we may well consider here the question whether the numerous slaves of African descent who were imported into Portugal and there employed as agricultural laborers may not have had an influence on Portuguese folk-lore and indirectly on Spanish folk-lore. It is not improbable that folk tales from equatorial Africa may have been imported into Europe in this manner during the fifteenth century and may have been afloat there for some time without taking as firm root as the older folk tales, and that in this way the Portuguese and Spaniards were instrumental in disseminating tales of Negro origin. With the material in our hands at present it is impossible to decide just what happened. A thorough search in southern Spain and Portugal for tales belonging to this group may perhaps help us to clear up this important question.

A similar difficulty arises in regard to the tale of the attempted execution of Br'er Rabbit, who boasts that various methods proposed for killing him will be ineffectual, but says that he fears to be thrown into briar bushes. We find this tale widely distributed in the area of Negro influence in America, but in another part of the continent Turtle takes the place of Br'er Rabbit. The tale in which this occurs, "Turtle's War Party," is evidently an Indian tale, but it is difficult to believe that the incident here referred to should have arisen independently.

The problem that confronts us in regard to the Tar Baby story appears still more clearly in the story of the race between a

¹¹ Dean S. Fansler, "Metrical Romances in the Philippines," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. 29 (1916), pp. 203 *et seq.*

slow and a fleet animal. In Asia and in Central Africa the story refers to a race between Turtle and some fleet runner. In Europe Turtle never appears in this rôle. Proof of direct European origin can best be given for the Laguna version of the tale. In the earliest recorded European version of the thirteenth century¹² the two runners contend in regard to the ownership of a field, and the same incident occurs in the Laguna form.¹³ It is absent in the African versions and we must, therefore, conclude that the Laguna tale is of European origin. In the area of Spanish influence we find the Frog as the slow animal, as in the French and Italian versions.¹⁴ The Frog as one of the two competitors appears in Laguna, among the Apache, in northern Mexico, Oaxaca and Chile. Among the Zuni the Gopher (or Mole) takes its place. Among the Cora of Mexico,¹⁵ the Locust. In the territory subject to French influence we find the Frog among the Kutenai.¹⁶ Among the Chiriguano the tick is the slow animal;¹⁷ in the Philippines the snail;¹⁸ in Borneo¹⁹ the crab. In other parts of America the slow competitor is the Turtle as in all parts of Africa and in the Aesopian fable. In the southeastern United States where Negro influence is all important it is easily understood why the African form should prevail, but it is not clear why we should find in the northern area, among the Arikara, the Salish of Washington, the Ojibway, the Wyandotte and others, the Turtle. It seems very unlikely that these tales should have been derived from Negro sources. We may therefore ask ourselves whether unrecorded French or Spanish versions do not exist in which Turtle appears as an actor.

¹² Bolte and Polfvka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, Vol. 3, p. 343; Oskar Dähnhardt: *Natursagen*, Vol. 4, p. 470.

¹³ F. Boas, "Keresan Texts," *Publications of the American Ethnological Society*, Vol. 8, Part 2, p. 261, and corresponding translation in Part 1 (1925).

¹⁴ Bolte and Polfvka, Vol. 3, p. 347.

¹⁵ K. T. Preuss, *Die Nayarit-Expedition*, p. 209, Leipzig, 1912.

¹⁶ F. Boas, *Kutenai Tales*, Bulletin 59, Bureau of American Ethnology (1918), pp. 43, 307.

¹⁷ Erland Nordenskiöld, *Indianersagen*, p. 292.

¹⁸ Dean S. Fansler, "Filipino Popular Tales," p. 429; W. H. Millington and Bertou L. Maxfield, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. 20 (1907), p. 315.

¹⁹ I. H. N. Evans, "Folk Stories of the Tempanouk and Tuarun Districts," *Journ. Royal Anthropol. Inst.*, 43 (1913), p. 475.

Still another analogous case is presented by the story of the escape up the tree, which has been fully discussed by Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons.²⁰ She gives a number of African versions, some from American Negroes and others from American Indians located on the western plains and plateaus. Recently a new version has been recorded from Puget Sound. In this case European parallels are also missing. Furthermore the tale is very thoroughly assimilated and forms part of stories of purely Indian form. Nevertheless the incident must be considered as imported from Africa or Europe. I am under the impression that a slow infiltration of elements of this type has occurred on the western plateaus, perhaps also in California, proceeding from Mexico northward; and that this current of dissemination is so old that most of the foreign material has been thoroughly embodied in native folk tales. This process is probably also the cause of the occurrence of the Swan Maiden element in some of the most important tales of the southwestern plateaus.²¹

Assimilation occurs perhaps more rapidly than is ordinarily assumed. Proof of this is the change of the moralizing fable into an explanatory Indian tale like the one referred to before, or the Sans Poil story of the race between Turtle and Frog,²² in which both animals stake their tails. Frog loses and for this reason the pollywog loses its tail.

While the material previously discussed is derived from the intimate intercourse between colonists or hunters and Indians, there is another group of tales that has been disseminated through the influence of missionaries. These are partly Biblical tales, partly moralizing fables used for the purposes of instruction. The latter group has been found particularly in Spanish territory where the Catholic clergy used them. Here belong a number of the Aesopian fables like that of the snake which in return for being freed by a man threatens to kill him. Stories of saints are also found in this territory. So far they have not been collected in other districts where Catholic mission-

²⁰ *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. 45 (1922), pp. 1-29.

²¹ F. Alden Mason, "Myths of the Uintah Utes," *Journ. of Am. Folk-Lore*, Vol. 23 (1910), p. 322; R. H. Lowie, "Shoshonean Tales," *ib.*, Vol. 37 (1924), p. 86.

²² "Folk-Tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes," *Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society*, Vol. 11, p. 111, New York, 1917.

aries have been working, but they may occur there. On the whole, this group of tales is very slightly modified.

The fate of Biblical stories has been quite different and often they are found assimilated to the native style of mythology and of story telling. Examples are the Biblical tales of the Thompson Indians.²³ They believe that in the beginning all trees bore fruit, and that the pine particularly had large sweet fruit. God told man that he would come soon and tell them what they might eat. Meanwhile the Devil asked Eem (Eve) to eat of the fruit of the white pine, which was particularly good. She mistook the Devil for God, and as a punishment she was sent to live with the Devil and the fruits of all trees shrivelled up to the size of seeds and berries. Then God created a new wife for Atam (Adam) by taking out one of his ribs.

Christ is said to be the son of Patliam (Bethlehem). He is deserted by his mother in a swamp where a sheep and a rooster take care of him. The latter announces that he is a god. A cow is sent by God to feed him, and his mother takes him back from the swamp and travels with the child until she reaches a stream. Until that time human beings had no fingers and no toes, and when they stepped into the water in order to cross the stream (baptism) all of a sudden her feet and her hands assumed the present form.

Thorough assimilation is also found in the nativity tale of Zuni. Two versions have been recorded, one by Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons,²⁴ one by Dr. Ruth Benedict.²⁵ The most characteristic feature of this tale is that the child was born in a manger and that the animals came to bless it. The pig blesses it first and is recompensed by the mother by being given a large number of offspring. The sheep comes next and is given two offspring at a time. The mule refuses to bless the child and is punished with barrenness.

Many of the deluge tales of North American Indians are obviously derived from Biblical sources. There are also a large number of native deluge tales. The assimilation between the

²³ James A. Teit, "Mythology of the Thompson Indians," *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, Vol. 8, pp. 399 *et seq.*

²⁴ *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. 31 (1918), pp. 258, 259.

²⁵ *Ma.*

two groups is very thorough and in a great many cases it is difficult to decide whether we are dealing with a Biblical or a native story.

Not all the problems relating to the origin and development of contents and style of American mythology can be solved at the present time, but there is no doubt that Romance sources have added a great deal to the lore of America and that in some cases even stylistic characteristics of Romance story telling may be traced in native tales.

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ITALIAN INFLUENCES ON LONGFELLOW'S WORKS

LONGFELLOW was one of the most brilliant cosmopolitan scholars of his age. He had a thorough knowledge of all the leading languages of Europe, and he not only read extensively from their respective literatures, but also drew from them valuable suggestions for many of his own poetic works. In this respect, the Italian influences were indeed the most numerous. While Dante was by far his greatest source of inspiration,¹ Longfellow's indebtedness to other Italian writers is by no means inconsiderable.

That Longfellow was familiar with Boccaccio's masterpiece is evident in his *Outre Mer* where he gives us Boccaccio's vivid description of the plague of 1348, and also in his *Tales of a Wayside Inn* whose setting bears certain similarities to the *Decameron*. As the seven young ladies and three young men in Boccaccio's work come together in a villa near Florence and delight in story-telling, so in Longfellow's poem, a student, a young Sicilian, a Spanish Jew, a theologian, a poet and a musician meet at an inn and tell tales by way of pastime. Moreover, the student in his tale about the Falcon of Ser Federigo adapts very closely Boccaccio's novella of the same name.

Of Longfellow's acquaintance with the Italian epic poets we have more than one example. In *Hyperion* he mentions Boiardo, "the old Lombard" who set all the church bells in Scandiano ringing because he had found a name for one of his heroes. In it he also refers to one of the chief characters in the *Orlando Innamorato*, namely Malagigi, "the necromancer who put all the company to sleep by reading to them from a book." In the *Tales of a Wayside Inn*, the student recites, in the introduction to his first tale, the three opening verses of the *Orlando Furioso*, and in *Kavanagh* the heroes of Ariosto's epic poem who are ever fighting, in spite of the fact that they are constantly overthrown, are appropriately compared to the inextinguishable passions of

¹ v. "Longfellow and Dante" in the *Report of the Dante Society of Cambridge* for the year 1924.

men. "Our passions never wholly die, but in the last cantos of life's romantic epos, they rise up again and do battle, like some of Ariosto's heroes, who have already been quietly interred and ought to be turned to dust."

In his *Journals* Longfellow quotes Alfieri's views on the different ages of the Italian language and alludes to Tassoni's *Secchia Rapita* by referring to the early history of Italy as a series of "fights for some empty buckets or the like, between one town and another." Tasso's letter to a friend in which he expresses his desire to end his troubled life in seclusion is cited in *Outre Mer* in connection with Longfellow's account of his visit to Sant Onofrio.

In *Hyperion*, Fleming, wearied from his long journey, enters a tavern and chants its praises in the words of the poet Aretino:

"He who has not been at a tavern knows not what a Paradise it is. O holy tavern, O miraculous tavern!—holy because no carking cares are there, nor weariness, nor pain; and miraculous because of the spits which of themselves turn round and round! Of a truth, all courtesy and good manners come from taverns, so full of bows, and 'signor sì' and signor no!'"²

In Longfellow's notes to the *Divina Commedia* there are numerous reminiscences not only from Dante, but also from many of his Italian commentators, such as Benvenuto da Imola, Boccaccio, Venturi, Biagioli and Buti, as well as from Villani, Tiraboschi, Dino Compagni, Vasari, Quadrio, Covino, Crescimbeni, Balbo and Foscolo.³ Moreover, by way of comment or illustration, several of the Italian classics are frequently quoted or referred to, as, for example, the *Cento Novelle Antiche*, the *Decameron*, Sacchetti's *Novelle*, Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, Guido Cavalcanti's *Song of Fortune* and his ode on the noble heart, Guido Guinizelli's *The Tender Heart*, Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* and the *Aminta*, Guittone d'Arezzo's *Letter to the Florentines*, Cellini's *Life*, Filicaja's *Sonnet on Italy* and on Providence, Macchiavelli's *Belfagor*, and his epigram on Soderini; St. Francis of Assisi's *Sermon to the Birds*, Bandello's *Novelle*, Redi's *Bacchus in Tuscany*, and Florentino's *Pecorone*.

² *La Cortigiana*, Act II, Scene I.

As Dr. Morin pointed out,³ Longfellow's episode of the Calif Motcassim Billah in *Kambalu* is taken from Marco Polo's Travels; the tale of the Monk of Casal Maggiore (Tale II) goes back to Michele Colombo's *Tale of the Cordelier Metamorphosed*; *The Bell of Atri* is but a reproduction on a larger scale of Gualteruzzi's tale; *Charlemagne* (Tale II, 72) owes its original suggestion to Cantù's *Storia degli Italiani* (II, 122); and from Baldi's *Nautica* comes the inspiration for *The Building of the Ship*.

The tale of Emma and Eginhard has its sources in a chapter of Dandolo's *Storia del Pensiero nel Medio Evo* (Vol. I) entitled *I ministri di Carlomagno*, Dandolo's account being in turn borrowed from the original Latin of the Monk Lauresheim. The opening lines of the poem, dealing with the subjects taught in Alcuin's school, closely imitate the original:

"Secondo le tue esortazioni, ed in conformità al tuo savio volere, distillo agli uni il miele delle Sante Scritture, cerco di inebbriar gli altri col vino generoso dello studio degli antichi; nutro questi co' frutti della scienza grammaticale; tento far brillare agli occhi di quelli l'armonia degli astri. . . ."⁴

"When Alcuin taught the sons of Charlemagne,
In the free schools of Aix, how kings should reign,
And with them taught the children of the poor
How subjects should be patient and endure,
He touched the lips of some, as best befit,
With honey from the hives of Holy Writ;
And others intoxicated with the wine
Of ancient history, sweet but less divine;
Some with the wholesome fruits of grammar fed;
Others with mysteries of the stars o'erhead, . . ."

In addition to this, however, we have in Longfellow a charming description of the monk's personal appearance and character, as well as of Eginhard's extraordinary accomplishments. The high esteem and respect which Eginhard enjoyed at the court of Charlemagne are briefly referred to in both versions, but while Dandolo merely mentions the fact that

³ P. Morin: *Les Sources de l'Oeuvre de H. W. Longfellow*, Paris, 1913.

⁴ Prospetto delle lettere d'Alcuino a Carlomagno. 38 796 Rendegli conto di quanto va operando per la prosperità della scuola dell'Abazia di Tours. . . .

Eginhard "era specialmente amato con vivo trasporto dalla figlia del principe per nome Emma," Longfellow tells us how this love first began and developed, and how it filled Eginhard's heart with an irresistible desire to see and speak to his lady, so that we are thus gradually prepared for the catastrophe which is to follow.

"Home from her convent to the palace came
The lovely Princess Emma, whose sweet name,
Whispered by seneschal or sung by bard,
Had often touched the soul of Eginhard.
He saw her from his window, as in state
She came, by knights attended through the gate;
He saw her in the garden as she strayed
Among the flowers of summer with her maid,
And said to him, 'O Eginhard, disclose
The meaning and the mystery of the rose';
And trembling he made answer: 'In good sooth,
Its mystery is love, its meaning youth!'

How can I tell the signals and the signs
By which one heart another heart divines?
How can I tell the many thousand ways
By which it keeps the secret it betrays?

O mystery of love! O strange romance!
Among the Peers and Paladins of France
Shining in steel, and prancing on gay steeds,
Noble by birth, yet nobler by great deeds,
The Princess Emma had no words nor looks
But for this clerk, this man of thought and books.

The summer passed, the autumn came, the stalks
Of lilies blackened in the garden walks,
The leaves fell, russet-golden and blood-red,
Love-letters thought the poet fancy-led,
Or Jove descending in a shower of gold
Into the lap of Danae of old;
For poets cherish many a strange conceit,
And love transmutes all nature by its heat.
No more the garden lessons, nor the dark
And hurried meeting in the twilight park;

But now the studious lamp, and the delights
Of firesides in the silent winter nights,
And watching from his window hour by hour
The light that burned in Princess Emma's tower."

Eginhard's rash determination to call on Emma at a late hour of the night, and the unpleasant surprise on the part of the lovers over the unexpected snowfall are dealt with in very much the same way in both works, except that Longfellow gives to all this a romantic touch and embellishes it with a splendid bit of natural description.

"Tema trattennevali della collera del re; ma quella cieca passione quai riguardi non supera? il giovine, fattosi di subito ardito, si condusse segretamente sul cuor della notte al dov Emma abitava; bussò alla porta, finse un messaggio, e gli fu aperto. . . . Quando sull'albeggiare volle tornarsene, avvedesi ch'era caduta neve e che l'orme de'suoi piedi avrebbero tradito l'amoroso convegno."

"At length one night, while musing by the fire,
O'ercome at last by his insane desire,—
For what will reckless love not do and dare?
He crossed the court, and climbed the winding stair
With some feigned message in the Emperor's name.
But when he to the lady's presence came
He knelt down at her feet, until she laid
Her hand upon him, like a naked blade,
And whispered in his ear: 'Arise, Sir Knight,
To my heart's level, O my heart's delight.'

And there he lingered till the crowing cock,
The Alectryon of the farmyard and the flock,
Sang his aubade with lusty voice and clear,
To tell the sleeping world that dawn was near.
And then they parted; but at parting, lo!
They saw the palace courtyard white with snow,
And, placid as a nun, the moon on high
Gazing from cloudy cloisters of the sky.
'Alas!' he said, 'how hide the fatal line
Of footprints leading from thy door to mine,
And none returning!'"

In like manner the passage dealing with Emma's clever,

though unsuccessful, efforts to prevent discovery of her lover's escapade is reproduced in Longfellow's poem with a greater degree of vividness and impressiveness. In it we are made to appreciate more fully the gravity of the situation and feel more keenly Charlemagne's anxiety and sorrow over what had happened.

"Ma Carlo che aveva passato quella notte insonne, e spiando l'aurora, guatava dal verone, vide la figlia procedere lenta coll'insolito peso sugli omeri, e depostolo, ricondursi cautamente alle sue camere. Conquiso da meraviglia e dolore tacque del veduto."

"That night the Emperor, sleepless with the cares
And troubles that attend on state affairs,
Had risen before the dawn, and musing gazed
Into the silent night, as one amazed
To see the calm that reigned o'er all supreme,
When his own reign was but a troubled dream.
The moon lit up the gables capped with snow,
And the white roofs, and half the court below,
And he beheld a form that seemed to cower
Beneath a burden, come from Emma's tower,—
A woman, who upon her shoulders bore
Clerk Eginhard to his own private door,
And then returned in haste, but still essayed
To tread the footprints she herself had made;
And as she passed across the lighted space,
The Emperor saw his daughter Emma's face!
He started not; he did not speak or moan,
But seemed as one who hath been turned to stone;
And stood there like a statue, nor awoke
Out of his trance of pain, till morning broke. . . .
And thus he stood till Eginhard appeared, . . ."

As in *Dandolo*, so in Longfellow the next morning Eginhard presents himself to the emperor, not, however, "per chiedergli istantemente una missione che lo avesse ad allontanare dalla corte," which would be apt to arouse Charlemagne's suspicion, but

. . . "to ask
As was his wont, the day's appointed task."

The Emperor, smiling, tells him to wait a while, for he must first attend to some very urgent business of state. In the meantime he summons the Imperial Council, lays the whole matter before them and asks them for sentence. Whereupon,

"With eager breath
Some answered banishment, and others death."

And here again we come to a somewhat different treatment of the story in Longfellow, for clemency is invoked, not merely with a view to drawing a veil over a dishonest act, but rather because "life is the gift of God and is divine," because "all men are fashioned of the self-same dust," and because "love reigns supreme and fate is its law."

"Il re udita ch'ebbe in opinione di ognuno parlò in tal tenore: . . . Eppertanto io non infliggerò al mio segretario per questo deplorabil fatto niun castigo: da cui il disonore di mia figlia sia per essere accresciuto anzichè cancellato: reputo caso più spediende, saggio, ed affacente alla dignità nostra perdonare a cotesti giovani il trascorso; e, unendoli in legittime nozze, velare il loro fallo coi colori della onestà."

"Then spake the king: 'Your sentence is not mine;
Life is the gift of God, and is divine;
Nor from these palace walls shall one depart
Who carries such a secret in his heart;
My better judgment points another way.
Good Alcuin, I remember how one day
When my Pepino asked you, 'What are men?'
You wrote upon his tablets with your pen,
'Guests of the grave and travellers that pass!'
This being true of all men, we alas!
Being all fashioned of the selfsame dust,
Let us be merciful as well as just;
This passing traveller who hath stolen away
The brightest jewel of my crown to-day,
Shall of himself the precious gem restore;
By giving it, I make it mine once more.
Over those fatal footprints I will throw
My ermine mantle like another snow."

"P. Che cosa sono gli uomini?"

A. Viaggiatori che passano ospiti del sepolcro."

These two lines appear in a dialogue in Dandolo, "in cui ascoltiamo il maestro rispondere alli incalzanti interrogazioni di Pipino, secondo genito di Carlo Magno, che s'aveva allora sedici anni."

The last part of the poem, as was the case with the opening lines, is but a paraphrase of a corresponding passage in Dandolo.

"Eginardo ricevette comando di entrare; e Carlo, salutandolo con viso sereno—tu ci facesti intendere, disse, che la nostra regal munificenza non aveva per anco degnamente corrisposto a' tuoi servigi. Or io con magnifico dono farò che cessino quegli interiori tuoi lagni; siccome bramo averti sempre fido, come per lo passato, e affezionato alla mia persona, ti concedo in moglie quella delle mie figlie ch'è stata la tua portatrice—e tosto Emma fu fatta entrare tutta rossa in viso, e il padre mise la mano di lei in quella di Eginardo, e ricca dote le fu assegnata d'oro e di terre, . . ."

"Then Eginhard was summoned to the hall
And entered, and in presence of them all,
The Emperor said: 'My son, for thou to me
Hast been a son, and evermore shalt be,
Long hast thou served thy sovereign, and thy zeal
Pleads to me with importunate appeal.
While I have been forgetful to requite
Thy service and affection as was right.
But now the hour is come, when I, thy Lord,
Will crown thy love with such supreme reward,' . . .
Then sprang the portals of the chamber wide,
And Princess Emma entered, in the pride
Of birth and beauty, that in part o'ercame
The conscious terror and the blush of shame.
And the good Emperor rose up from his throne,
And taking her white hand within his own
Placed it in Eginhard's and said: 'My son,
This is the gift thy constant zeal hath won;—
Thus I repay the royal debt I owe,
And cover up the footprints in the snow.'"

Galgano, which appeared for the first time in the May number of *Putnam's Magazine* ⁶ for the year 1853, is an imitation of the first *novella* of the first *giornata* of Giovanni Fiorentino's *Pecorone*, with but a few variations. The poem opens with a beautiful description of Siena and its surrounding landscape, which, though perhaps of no particular interest to an Italian, is nevertheless important to the setting of the story and valuable

⁶ Vol. I, pp. 512-516.

to the foreign reader who is unacquainted with that region of Italy.

"You will not see, in many lands,
A region that is so divine
As that which, from the Apennine,
Studded with hamlet, tower, and town,
Sweeps in long undulations down
To the Maremma and the sea.
And in its midst Siena stands
With all its busy hearts and hands,
The home of love and gallantry."

Although the characters are the same, two of them assume different names in Longfellow's version. Thus "Madonna Minoccia, gentildonna di Siena, moglie d'un gentil cavaliere chiamato Messere Stricca," becomes "Bella Mano, the lady rich and fair, the wife of good Count Salvatore." Moreover, Galgano is no longer the typical Italian of the Renaissance, "ricco e di nobile progenie, atto e comunemente esperto in ogni cosa, valoroso, gagliardo, magnanimo, e cortese e universale con ogni maniera di gente, but he is simply "noble, handsome and rich," as any modern man might be. He is not the bold and passionate lover who persists in imposing his attentions on his lady, like Fiorentino's hero, but he is rather a romantic swain who yearns for her favor and yet has no courage to speak, feels embarrassed and humiliated in her presence, tries to conceal his emotions, and pines away in his loneliness; and all this with good reason, for she was prudent and ever refrained from giving him any encouragement.

". . . she was distant, she was cold,
And he, not being over bold,
Walked ever more in humble guise,
And hardly dared to lift his eyes
To her, who thus his life controlled."

The incident which first leads Bella Mano to become interested in Galgano is identical in both stories. It takes place outside of Siena, at the country home of Salvatore.

"Ora avvenne che essendo Messere Stricca e la sua donna a un lor luogo ch'era presso a Siena, il detto Galgano passò per

la contrada con uno sparviere in pugno, e fece vista d'andare uccellando, e passò presso alla casa dove ella era; per che Messer Stricca lo vide e subito lo conobbe, e se gli fè incontra e domesticamente lo prese per mano, pregandolo che gli piacesse di andare a cena con esso lui e con la donna sua. Di che Galgano lo ringraziò e disse: gran mercè, fatevi con Dio, ch'io ho fretta. Messer Stricca, veggendo la volontà sua, il lasciò andare e tornossi in casa."

"A league beyond the city's gate
Lay the fair lands of his estate,
And yearly to those green retreats
The husband and the wife went down . . .
And by the window as they stood,
A youth came riding through the wood,
Bearing a falcon in his hand, . . .
It was Galgano: and the Count
Went forth and greeted him, and pressed
That from his steed he would dismount,
And be that night, at least, their guest.
To this Galgano answered nay;
He was in haste, he could not stay. . .
Musing a while the old man stood,
Then left the shadow of the wood, . . .
And disappeared within the door. . ."

The falcon chase which follows being almost an every day occurrence for a sixteenth century Italian is merely mentioned in Fiorentino's, while in Longfellow's, because of its interest to modern readers, it forms the subject of a most vivid and charming bit of description.

"E mentre che Galgano andava sopra pensiero una gazza si leva; per che costui lasciò lo sparviere, e la gazza fuggì nel giardino di Messer Stricca, e lo sparviere si ghermì con lei."

"., they heard
The screams of an affrighted bird,
And from the window they beheld
A falcon, with his jesses belled,
Out of a neighboring thicket soar.
Three circles in the air—no more—
He made, with such a sweeping wing,
It seemed a pleasure, not a toil;
Then, like a serpent from his coil,
Or like a stone hurled from a sling,

Down on his prey he came, and tore
 Its bosom, so that drops of gore
 Fell heavy on the glossy leaves,
 As rain-drops from the dripping eaves;
 And, with ensanguined beak and feather,
 Through the great dome of foliage dark,
 Upon the greensward of the park,
 Victor and victim fell together!"

The husband's lavish praise of Galgano's virtues give rise to the secret admiration of the wife for the young man; in both a meeting between the two lovers takes place on the same occasion, namely, on Salvatore's mission to Perugia; but while Minoccia immediately takes advantage of his departure in order to give vent to her lust, Bella Mano is to a certain extent a mere victim of circumstances. Upon finding herself alone "in that great, sombre house of stone," her thoughts unconsciously turn to Galgano; and even when she finally yields to the temptation and sends for him, her "fickle soul repented, but too late."

"... e veggendo la valentigia che fè lo sparviere nel pigliar la gazza domandò la donna, non sapendo di cui e'si fusse, di cui era quello sparviere. Rispose Messer Stricca: 'quello sparviere ha bene a cui somigliare però ch'egli è del più virtuoso giovane che sia in Siena, e del più compiuto.' Notò la donna quelle parole, e tennesele a'mente. Onde avvenne che indi a pochi dì Messer Stricca fu mandato dal comune di Siena per ambasciadore a Perugia, perchè la donna sua rimase sola; e subito sentito che'l marito era cavalcato, mandò una sua segretaria per Galgano, pregandolo che gli piacesse venire infino a lei, che ella gli voleva parlare. . . . Fatta che gli fu l'ambasciata, Galgano rispose che verrebbe molto volentieri. . . . Si mosse la sera a ora competente, e andò a casa colei ch'egli amava assai più che gli occhi suoi."

"All that he said was simply this:
 It is Galgano's hawk, I wish,
 And much each other they resemble.
 . . . though Galgano came no more,
 Yet was he ever present there . . .
 At length—it was a luckless day—
 It chanced, that on some state affair
 Old Salvatore went away,
 And left her, restless and alone, . . .

And to Galgano's house she sent
A messenger of trust, to say
She had been waiting all the day, . . .
And that Galgano was her fate! . . .
. . . Galgano, when he heard
The lady's soft and gracious word,
. with speed
He mounted on his fleetest steed,
And forth into the country spurred. . .

How superior is Longfellow to Fiorentino in the description of the lovers' meeting. In one, the novelist, we have a scene of 'brazen immorality; Minoccia's lasciviousness, which knows no limit, leaves in us a feeling of repugnance and disgust. In the other, the poet, Bella Mano is already repentant, though constrained in spite of her remorse to face the critical situation created by a moment's weakness. So that, notwithstanding the immorality of her act, we are inclined to pity her.

"E giunto nel cospetto della donna, con molta riverenza la salutò dove la donna con molta festa lo prese per mano, e poi l'abbracciò, dicendo: 'ben venga il mio Galgano per cento volte: e senza più dire si donarono la pace più e più volte.' . . .

Disse Galgano: 'Madonna, io mi maraviglio forte, come voi avete stasera mandato per me più che altre volte, avendovi io tanto tempo desiderata e seguita, e voi mai non voleste me vedere nè udire; chè v'ha mosso ora?' Rispose la donna: 'io te lo diro. Egli è vero che pochi giorni sono, che tu passasti con un tuo sparviere quinci oltre; di che il mio marito mostra che ti vedesse e che t'invitasse a cena, e tu non volesti venire. Allora il tuo sparviere volò dietro a una gazza; e lo veggendo così bene schermire con lei, domandai il mio marito, di cui egli era: onde egli mi rispose ch'egli era del più virtuoso giovane di Siena, e ch'egli aveva bene a cui somigliare; però ch'e' non vide mai nessuno compiuto, quanto eri tu in ogni cosa. E sopra questo mi ti lodò molto onde io udendoti lodare a quel modo, e sapendo il bene che tu mi avevi voluto, posemi in cuore di mandare per te, e di non t'esser più cruda; e questa è la cagione.'

'Veramente, disse Galgano, non piaccia a Dio, nè voglia, poi che'l vostro marito m'ha fatto e detto di me tanta cortesia, ch'io usi a lui villania.'

E subito prese commiato dalla donna, e andossi con Dio."

"And as he entered, . . .
 The lady rose to his embrace, . . .
 And murmured . . .
 'Welcome, a thousand, thousand times!'
 And much Galgano wished to know
 What had o'er come the lady's pride,
 And changed her and subdued her so.
 And she related the whole story;
 The story of that summer day,
 When he rode down the woodland way,
 And, though entreated, would not stay,
 And, of the falcon and its flight,
 And how her husband, Salvatore,
 Spoke of him with so much delight,
 With so much love and tenderness,
 . . ., that she could no less
 Than listen, and in listening love!

 And moved by a sublime decision,
 He said, in tone of deep contrition,
 'May God forbid that I defame
 Old Salvatore's honored name.
 And pay his noble trust in me
 By any act of infamy!'
 Then with the instinct of despair,
 He rushed into the open air!"

In his more elaborate treatment of Fiorentino's theme, Longfellow substituted for the rough simplicity of the Italian author his smoothness and polished elegance, and infused into the story a strong flavor of romanticism. Moreover, he stripped it of all indecent and licentious elements, and thus made it better suited for readers of the present age.

If we turn to *Michael Angelo*,⁷ Longfellow's last poem, we shall see that in some instances he took over entire passages word by word from Cellini's *Life*, from Valdés's *Alfabeto Cristiano*, from Vasari's *Lives* and from Grimm's *Life of Michael Angelo*, while in other cases he simply borrowed a theme from some writer, embellished it with his own thoughts and meditations, and breathed into it his own personality.

⁷ The sources of *Michael Angelo* will be treated in a separate article.

It is evident, therefore, from what has been said, that the Italian influences to be found in the works of Longfellow are numerous and important. Longfellow held Italy in sincere and profound esteem. This esteem never faltered from the earliest days of his youth, when he caught his first glimpse of literary Italy, to the last moments of his long and productive life. His personal interest in that country was, moreover, fostered by favorable circumstances; his constant association with friends who were themselves enthusiastic admirers of everything Italian; his occasional visits to the peninsula and necessary contact with her forms of beauty; his constant reading of Italian authors. It was, however, more especially in the masterpieces of the literature that Longfellow found an unfailing source of intellectual enjoyment. He studied them with extreme care, and drew therefrom the essence of some of his richer thoughts and visions. Among all other influences, that of Dante was the most marked. This is not surprising, for he devoted many years of serious study to the works of the Italian master, as is shown by his translations of various passages of the *Commedia*, his lectures on the life and works of the poet and his scholarly version of the *Divine Poem*.

Yet, while the quotations and reminiscences from Dante are decidedly the most numerous, those drawn from other Italian poets and prose writers are not inconsiderable. This goes to show that Longfellow's Italian scholarship was both intensive and extensive; he paid careful attention also to the more important minor authors. The influence of these is clearly discernible in his writings even when, as sometimes happens, it is of a more or less complex or indirect nature.

In treating the question of Italian sources in the works of Longfellow one should never forget, however, that he was a man of many literatures. He was a naturally gifted linguist; he was a cosmopolitan scholar in the best sense of the word; as such he had access to the literatures of almost every European country. It is quite possible, then, that certain influences may not be the result of direct contact with Italian authors themselves, but rather of indirect contact with them through an English, French, Spanish, or German medium. (Cf. *Michael*

Angelo.) Then again, being a poet of real merit and quite capable of relying on his own resources, Longfellow was necessarily inclined to color, transform and recreate in the light of his own poetic genius the many themes or suggestions he so often borrowed from Italian writers. (Cf. *Galgano*.)

Hence we may safely conclude that while Longfellow owes much to Italy, and to other countries, he owes most to himself; his talent and temperament are mainly responsible for the eminent place which he occupies in the literary history of America.

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NOTES ON THE ANONYMOUS CONTINUATION OF LAZARILLO DE TORMES

AT the conclusion of his enlightening *Remarques sur Lazarillo de Tormes*, published some years ago,¹ M. R. Foulché-Delbosc added the text of a curious sixteenth century manuscript fragment, taken from a collection entitled *Liber facietiarum et similitudinum* found in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. The text begins with the words: "De vna parte del libro llamado *Lazaro de Tormes*, que entre las otras peregrinaciones fue a vn monast^o de monjas y vio lo q̄ al presente se dize." There follows an anecdote related by a wandering outcast who applies at a convent to become a nun. The abbess in charge of the institution explains that wealth and family prominence are prime requisites for admission and begins to cite examples from among the inmates present. Thereupon a jealous wrangle ensues; and amid a bedlam of abuse in which the nuns engage, the protagonist departs in disgust. The passage concludes thus: "Visto que en toda la tierra hentre los honbres no hallaua rremedio ni Refrigerio ni donde me anparar me uine ha la mar hentre los pescados."

Regarding the fragment, M. Foulché-Delbosc makes this brief comment: "La valeur littéraire de ce morceau est médiocre, mais l'existence, à une époque très voisine de la publication de la célèbre nouvelle, d'un texte de ce genre, est un fait intéressant." Although his article has since been often cited by others, apparently less attention has been given to the manuscript episode than it would seem to merit. The following reference is made to it by L. Gauchat in his article, *Lazarillo de Tormes und die Anfänge des Schelmenromans*:²

"Foulché-Delbosc nun hat in einem handschriftlichen *Liber facietiarum et similitudinum* von Madrid, dessen verschiedene Teile vor und nach dem *Lazarillo* verfasst wurden, einige zwar

¹ Cf. *Revue hispanique*, Vol. 7, 1900, pp. 81-97.

² Published in *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* (Bd. 129), Braunschweig, 1912. Cf. pp. 439-440.

nicht wörtliche Anklänge an den *Lazarillo* gefunden, auch eine Anekdote, deren Held ein Lazaro de Tormes ist, und die im Roman fehlt. Das lässt schon vermuten, dass im Volke noch weitere Geschichten über einen Lazaro als einer Art von Eulenspiegel im Umlauf waren."

Again we find it mentioned by J. Cejador y Frauca in his edition of the *Lazarillo*:³

"En el *Liber facietiarum et similitudinum*, manuscrito de fines del siglo XVI, en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (T. 18); . . . En los folios 75-76 hay un capítulo sacado de una obra larga que tendría por título *Lázaro de Tormes* y acaba diciendo: 'me vine ha la mar hentre los pescados,' lo cual alude a la segunda parte del *Lazarillo*. Es trozo curioso y puede verse en la *Revue hispanique* (año 1900-, pp. 95-97)."

Likewise in a later edition,⁴ A. Bonilla y San Martín remarks:

"-el *Lazarillo* siguió leyéndose e imitándose en España. El colector de cierto *Liber facietiarum et similitudinum*, de fines del siglo XVI, que se conserva en nuestra Biblioteca Nacional, recogió cierto capítulo adicional (publicado por el Sr. Foulché-Delbosc) 'del libro llamado *Lazaro de Tormes*,' donde relata, con perverso estilo, lances ocurridos en un monasterio de monjas."

Another comment is found in the *Historia de la Literatura española* by Hurtado y Palencia,⁵ as follows:

"En cuanto a imitaciones, además de las dos continuaciones indicadas, es de notar que Luis de Pinedo, en su *Liber facietiarum et similitudinum* (de fin del siglo XVI), copió una especie de capítulo adicional donde se refieren los episodios sucedidos a *Lazarillo* en un convento de monjas, narración bien poco literaria, por su estilo mediano."

The most serious consideration given to the episode, however, is that of Professor C. P. Wagner in his valuable introduction to a recent translation of the *Lazarillo*.⁶ Professor Wagner utilizes the fragment as supporting evidence for a theory that the

³ *La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus Fortunas y Adversidades* (Vol. 25, Clásicos Castellanos), Madrid, 1914. Cf. footnote, p. 205.

⁴ *La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus Fortunas y Adversidades* (Clásicos de la Literatura española), Madrid, 1915. Cf. pp. xxiii-xxiv of the *Advertencia*.

⁵ Madrid, 1922. Cf. p. 415.

⁶ *The Life of Lazarillo de Tormes and His Fortunes and Adversities*. Done out of the Castilian from R. Foulché-Delbosc's *Restitution of the Editio Princeps* by Louis How, with an Introduction and Notes by Charles Philip Wagner, New York, 1917.

Lazarillo and its continuations grew out of a legendary tradition which circulated in varying manuscript redactions long before the publication of the story in 1554. Indeed, it seems most likely that the first printed version of *Lazarillo*'s life owed the protagonist's given name and some of his adventures to a traditional character or preexisting sources. But it is much less probable that the anonymous continuation which immediately followed (1555)⁷ shared the same debt. The two works are so entirely different in subject and spirit that a conciliation with regard to an earlier common version is extremely difficult. Moreover, the title of the continuation includes the words *Segunda Parte*, the text begins with a repetition of the final words of the original and contains specific references to other parts of it throughout, ending with a promise of another installment. All of these facts indicate plainly that it is a sequel. Professor Wagner points out that it does not imitate its predecessor as we should expect, which only corroborates the statement made in the expurgated edition of 1573 that it was the work of another author. He was probably one naturally fond of relating fantastic or imaginative adventures, and, therefore, incapable of following closely the realistic vein already struck.

The tradition theory can hardly be substantiated by citing, as Professor Wagner does, the *Segunda Parte* of Juan de Luna, published many years later (1620). In a prologue addressed to his readers,⁸ Luna says that his chief motive for publishing another version was due to his having found a little book purporting to be a continuation, but in reality an absurd misrepresentation of *Lazarillo*'s life. His summary references to its contents show that he doubtless had in mind the anonymous sequel of 1555 or perhaps a translation of it.⁹ In order to lend

⁷ Two editions appeared in the same year: *La Segun-|da Parte de Laza-|rillo de Tormes: y | de sus fortunas y ad-|uerfidades. | En anvers, | En casa de Martín Nucio, a la en-|jeña de las dos Cigueñas. | M. D. L. V. | Con Privilegio Imperial.* (Bound in same volume with first part which is dated 1554.) *La Segun-|da Parte de Laza-|rillo de Tormes, y | de sus fortunas, y ad-|uerfidades. | En anvers, | En el Vnicornio dorado, en | casa de Guillermo Simon. | M. D. L. V. | Con Privilegio Imperial.* (Issued together with first part under same date.)

⁸ Cf. *Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, Vol. 3, *Novelistas anteriores a Cervantes*, Madrid, 1850, p. 111.

⁹ A French version was published in Antwerp in 1598 by Guislain Iansens.

reality to his own narrative, Luna pretends that it is based on the ancient chronicles of Toledo, though he was living in Paris at the time. These 'archives of the assembly of vagabonds,' as he terms them, were obviously fictitious. Then, too, he states that he had often heard his elders discuss Lazarillo's submarine adventures. Naturally in the course of sixty-five years various legends might have been formed on the subject which was popularly known from the printed story. At any rate, the first few chapters of Luna's work are deliberately based on the preceding accounts of Lazarillo's experiences, but his sojourn under the sea, though very similar to the anonymous continuation as far as it goes, is greatly condensed. Aside from certain reminiscences of the other two versions, Luna's development of the theme is characteristically original, emphasizing the anticlerical element. In concluding his narrative, the author evidently forgot his avowed rôle of documentary chronicler. These are the closing words: "Esta es, amigo lector, en suma la segunda parte de la vida de Lazarillo, sin añadir ni quitar, de lo que della oí contar á mi bisabuela. Si te diere gusto me huelgo, y adios."¹⁰ Whatever may have been the influence of folk-lore on the Luna continuation, there is little to suggest that it also formed a basis for the anonymous *Segunda Parte*. Tradition must be traced backwards, and Lazaro's association with the fishes seems to originate no earlier than 1555.

Mention of Lazaro and the tunny fish battle occurs in one of the manuscript texts of the *Crotalón*, a work ascribed to Cristóbal de Villalón and probably composed soon after Philip II began his reign in 1559.¹¹ That this allusion had reference to the *Segunda Parte* of 1555 was the opinion shared by two authorities on the Spanish picaresque novel, Sr. Bonilla¹² and Professor F.

¹⁰ *Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, Vol. 3, p. 128.

¹¹ For information concerning the life and works of Villalón consult the following: M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos españoles*, Madrid, 1880 (Vol. 2, pp. 356-358); *Publicaciones de la Sociedad de Bibliófilos españoles*, Vol. 33, Madrid, 1898 (Introducción, M. Serrano y Sanz); *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, Vol. 2, *Autobiografías y Memorias*, coleccionadas e ilustradas por M. Serrano y Sanz, Madrid, 1905 (Introducción, pp. cx-cxxii); N. Alonso Cortés, *Cristóbal de Villalón, algunas noticias biográficas*, in the *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, Vol. i, Madrid, 1914, pp. 434-448; F. A. de Icaza, *Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra y los Orígenes de "El Crotalón,"* *Idem*, Vol. iv, 1917, pp. 32-46.

¹² *Anales de la Literatura española*, Madrid, 1904 (Cf. p. 221). (An earlier but

de Haan.¹³ Their conclusion was a very natural one but Professor Wagner thinks otherwise. He notes the striking parallelism between the *Lazaro* fragment of the *Liber facietiarum* and an episode in Canto VIII of the *Crotalón*,¹⁴ which also tells of an experience in a convent of nuns. Since this adventure is not found in the anonymous *Segunda Parte*, he suggests that it may have been derived from a common source in an unknown manuscript redaction of the *Lazarillo* based on folk-lore. In this way he would account for Villalón's reference, and his view is sanctioned by Professor G. T. Northup.¹⁵

It was the appeal of Professor Wagner for any other explanation of the textual coincidence¹⁶ which prompted the present article. A recent consultation of the *Liber facietiarum* manuscript by the writer resulted in some observations which may be helpful in clarifying the relationship between the two convent episodes mentioned above. The full title of the collection is *Liber facietiarum et similitudinum Luduvici de Pinedo et Amicorum*,¹⁷ and it is found under the new catalog number 6960¹⁸ in the Manuscript Department of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. It is apparently a sort of album of wit to which a number of persons contributed. A considerable portion of the contents is arranged alphabetically and seems to have been copied from another text, as M. Foulché-Delbosc has remarked. Several additional folios, however, some of which are in blank, indicate that the miscellany continued to circulate and gather a variety of material from different pens. The whole has been consistently referred to as belonging to the end of the 16th century, though its compilation began much earlier. Menéndez misleading reference to this passage was made by M. Serrano y Sanz in his introduction to Vol. 33 of the *Publicaciones de la Sociedad de Bibliófilos españoles*. Cf. footnote 2, p. 104.)

¹³ *An Outline of the History of the Novela Picaresca in Spain*, The Hague and New York, 1903. (Cf. note, p. 85.)

¹⁴ Cf. *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, Vol. 7, *Orígenes de la Novela*, Madrid, 1907, p. 166 *et seq.*

¹⁵ In his review of L. How's translation in *Modern Philology*, Vol. xvi, 1918. Cf. p. 387.

¹⁶ Cf. How translation, note, p. 130.

¹⁷ Only the title is in Latin.

¹⁸ The classification (T. 18) given by Foulché-Delbosc and Cejador was that of an older system.

y Pelayo dates it not later than 1563.¹⁹ According to M. Foulché-Delbosc, "Nous trouvons au f. 63 vo. la date 1552, mais au f. 64 nous voyons mentionné 'el serenissimo rey don Philippe,' ce qui prouve que si une partie du volume est antérieure à la publication du *Lazarille de Tormes*, une autre partie lui est postérieure, et cela ne permet pas de fixer une date pour le fragment dont nous avons parlé." He refers to another fragment which he had reproduced from the same collection.

We are chiefly concerned with the Lazaro passage however (ff. 75-76). Its incompleteness would be evidence enough that it had been detached from a longer work even if the explanatory statement to this effect were lacking. These prefatory words, "De una parte," etc., are in an entirely distinct hand from what follows, a very significant fact which M. Foulché-Delbosc, in his scant notice of the manuscript, might well have mentioned for the guidance of others. The note is crowded in above the longer text, and the condition of the ink indicates that it was inserted some time afterwards, probably as an explanatory comment by one who was familiar with the episode in its proper setting. Furthermore the information it affords is inexact. The person supposed to be relating the adventure is of the feminine sex as may be seen at a glance from such passages of the text as "por ser yo del genero femenino," and "como me viesen tan maltractada." This feminine agreement of adjectives and participles is consistent throughout. Clearly, then, it is not Lazaro de Tormes who is describing his wanderings, as the commentary states; unless, of course, we may assume that Lazaro was at one time transformed into a woman. Such an assumption could not be founded on any known version of his life.

The question arises at once, why did someone add this note connecting the episode with Lazaro's adventures? The easiest and most logical supposition is that the commentator recognized the fragment as belonging to a work known as *Lazaro de Tormes* and obeyed the impulse to record his identification of it. In doing so he had foremost in mind the longer narrative and neglected to make the proper correlation. If this may safely be taken for granted, we must seek the complete text to which the

¹⁹ Cf. *Orígenes de la Novela* (Vol. 7, *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores españoles*), Introducción, p. lx.

fragment belongs. A perfectly good clue is given in its final words: "uine ha la mar hentre los pescados." As has been observed by Sr. Cejador, this immediately recalls the anonymous continuation, in which most of the adventures occur under the sea among the fishes. Its title page, based on that of the original, refers to the hero as Lazarillo but in the chapter headings, where the name occurs, it is Lazaro. All through the text the protagonist calls himself by the latter name and concludes the story by signing himself Lazaro de Tormes. This can easily account for the confusion of titles.

Every careful reader of the *Segunda Parte* of 1555 must have noticed that Chapter XV is incomplete. The other chapters are comparatively long, whereas this one is extremely short and shows an utter lack of coherence. Its importance in the discussion warrants reproduction here.²⁰

"CAP. XV. *Como andando Lazaro | a caça en vn bosque perdido de | los fuyos hallo la verdad.*

Como yo me perdi de los mios | halle la verdad, la qual me dixo | fer hija de Dios, y auer baxado del | cielo a la tierra por biuir y aproue- | char en ella a los hombres, y como | casi no auia dexado nada por andar | en lo poblado, y visitado todos los | estados grandes y menores, y ya q̄ | en casa de los principales auia halla- | do affiento, algunos otros la auian | rebuelto cō ellos, y por verfe cō tan | poco fauor se auia retraydo a una ro|ca en la mar contome co/as marauí- | llo/as que auia pa/ssado con todos ge|neros de gētes, lo qual si a. v. m. vui | effe de efcreurir feria largo, y fuera | de lo que toca a mis trabajos quan- | do sea v. m. seruido si quisiere le em- | biare la relacion de lo que con ella | paffe, buelto a mi Rey le conte lo q̄ | con la verdad auian (sic) pa/ssado."

A passage of Chapter V shows that the tunny fishes were accustomed to hunting, but as there is nothing immediately preceding Chapter XV about Lazaro and his companions going hunting in a wood, its heading and initial words evidently refer to a part of the narrative which has been omitted. Moreover, Chapter XVI is entitled, "*Como despedido La- | zaro de la verdad, yendo cō las Atu- | nas a defouar fue tomado en | las redes, y boluio a | fer hombre,*" and begins thus: "Yendome a la corte consolado cō | e/ftas palabras biui alegre algu- | nos dias en el

²⁰ Nucio, edition 1555, p. 56.

mar." The interrupted sequence is notable. Later, in Chapter XVII, Truth reappears to Lazaro in a dream and reminds him of a promise he had made to her at their previous meeting in the sea. Since no such promise is found in the text, this also points to an omission in Chapter XV.

Professor Wagner has noted all of these peculiarities, but charges them to confusion resulting from manuscript transmission, and suggests that the continuer, who was drawing on an earlier source, supplied the heading for Chapter XV in the effort to bridge over the lack of coherence found in his model. If, however, manuscript transmission alone were responsible for this outstanding break in the continuity of the *Segunda Parte*, would not the same confusion be more evident in other parts of the text? Aside from the one instance, the narration is remarkably coherent. We do find the expression "por evitar prolijidad" occurring in Chapters II and XII, but apparently it is only to ward off digression and does not affect the discourse.

Reasons have already been given herein for not considering the continuation as an offshoot of the same or parallel traditions which brought the original Lazarillo story into literature. Rather does it seem more probable that the succeeding work was purely a sequel of independent workmanship. In view of this, we may also assume that the continuer at first wrote Chapter XV in full, as he did the others, along with its chapter heading which was appropriate for the material it originally contained. Such material must have dealt for the most part with the conversation between Lazaro and Truth, in the course of which the latter related some of her bitter experiences on earth among men. Seeing how much worse human associates might be, Lazaro naturally felt more reconciled to his rather pleasant existence among the tunny fishes, and, in parting from his new and sympathetic acquaintance, exchanged with her pledges of mutual loyalty and protection. This would account for the opening words of the following chapter as well as the passage in Chapter XVII when Truth again appears and chides Lazaro for his lack of faith. For some reason not entirely clear to us, either the author or the printer must have made a hasty redaction of Chapter XV on the eve of publication. The person making the

cut failed to disguise his act by a proper rewording, merely excusing the omission on the grounds that it would be a digression from the main story. We have already seen that it was the author's intention to avoid prolixity. The same careless reviser was probably responsible for adding the sentence at the end of Chapter XV, "buelto a mi rey," etc., which overlaps the words "Yendome a la corte," beginning the next chapter.

What could have caused this sudden alteration? A hint at the solution may occur if one bears in mind that it was a time when the watchful eye of the inquisitorial censor was developing its greatest efficiency. To attract unfavorable attention from this quarter meant serious consequences for any aspiring man of letters, and to publish a work without the ecclesiastical approbation was to risk the gravest difficulties. It would seem that the author of the *Segunda Parte* was among the many who had already incurred the inquisitor's suspicion or feared to do so. Otherwise, why was his work given to a foreign press which was the haven of others under similar restriction in Spain, and why did he shield his connection with the enterprise with such care that his identity has never yet been discovered? Perhaps he had taken advantage of the excellent opportunity for satire offered by Truth's account of her experiences in Chapter XV and had indulged in some criticism of the clergy in answer to a desire that had been restrained elsewhere in the narrative. Overcome with misgiving and acting on the advice of others or the dictates of his own better judgment, he may have decided to cut the passage that invited trouble most strongly. That he was capable of satire may be seen from other parts of his text.²¹ There seems to be careful discretion in the handling of the character of the archpriest in the story, but even so, the suspicion of his unworthiness is perpetuated from the original *Lazarillo*. Hence it was respect for the power of church officials and not friendliness toward them which makes anticlericalism noticeably lacking from the continuation. Doubtless the antagonism of the Church, which soon led to the prohibition (1559) and later the expurgation (1573) of the first part, was already ominously evident to the continuer before he began his task.

²¹ Cf. the shipwreck scene in Chapter II.

After this analysis of certain aspects of the *Segunda Parte*, it is time to take up once more the interesting manuscript reproduced by M. Foulché-Delbosc from the *Liber facetiarius*. So firm is Professor Wagner in his conviction regarding the tradition theory that he overlooks any possible relationship between this convent episode and Chapter XV of the *Segunda Parte*. We have seen, however, that the commentary note attributing the passage to a book called *Lazaro de Tormes* erroneously represented Lazaro as the protagonist of the adventure when in reality it was a woman. The significant final words of the manuscript plainly refer to some work other than our original *Lazarillo*, and seem to link it with the anonymous continuation. We find in the latter an incomplete chapter lacking an episode, probably anticlerical, in which Truth relates her mistreatment and hardships among "todos generos de gentes" after having visited "todos los estados grandes y menores." Could not the manuscript fragment have formed a portion of Chapter XV of the *Segunda Parte* before its haphazard condensation? The inference is made more certain by the following passage in the manuscript:

"todas me tomaron hen medio e començando a sospirar me preguntan de donde hera he que desbentura fue la mia teniendo tan buen gesto he dispusición geltir andar tan herida Rota maltractada yo les rrespondi harto mal hes senoras. Vs. mds. no me conosçer y aun por eso ando qual veis que si bien conosçida fuese seria hamada he tractada segund merezco mas si la senora habadesa e senoras religiosas fuesedes seruidas de me Resçebir por monja yo olgaria de serlo e aunque al presente hos parezca mi docto no ser tan subido podeis pensar que solo lo que la casa hera dara hestando yo hen ella ualdra mas que todo hel mundo."

Who, other than Truth herself, could speak thus? When properly punctuated and corrected, the whole convent episode compares quite well in style with that of the *Segunda Parte*. Some of the orthographical peculiarities were characteristic of the epoch and may be found in the 1555 editions of the continuation. The manuscript's opening phrase "*por manera que*" is in keeping with the common device used by the continuer to maintain coherence between paragraphs. The same expression and others such as *determine ir*, *paresciome*, *cual* (for *como*), *harto*,

desventura, holgar de, tome la puerta (calle), ante mis (los) ojos, venir a la mar, entre los pescados, occur in the longer text, some of them with marked frequency.

The suppressed portion of the *Segunda Parte* was not necessarily destroyed. It may have been retained by the author and circulated among his acquaintances. In this way it might have come to be copied in Pinedo's miscellany which evidently began compilation at about the time when the *Segunda Parte* was composed. The author of the latter may have even been one of the friends who contributed to the book of *facetiae*. If so, he would have been apt to utilize suppressed scraps from his own works, such as this Truth fragment. If he were especially anticlerical, he would select the convent episode as a choice bit of satire on his favorite theme. Its abrupt beginning shows that it was preceded by other episodes of like nature. One of these, in fact, may have been the basis of another passage in the same *Liber facetiarum*. It again represents Truth as an outcast wandering among various types of people and relates one of her experiences.²²

It now remains for us to reconcile the similarity between the manuscript passage taken from the *Segunda Parte* and the convent episode in Canto VIII of the *Crotalón*. The two are strikingly alike in subject, style and diction. Both are highly anticlerical, making capital of the vanity among nuns over family name, their rebellion at enforced imprisonment, and their petty jealousies which led to coarse quarrels. At the same time we may well take into consideration another passage of the *Crotalón* (Canto XVIII) which also furnishes an interesting analogy. Here we find Gallo on a ship swallowed by a monster that lives in the sea. While exploring the contents of its cavernous belly, the protagonist and his companions come upon Truth (a very near relative of God) living with her mother (Kindness). He hears how they had wandered on earth among all classes of society and finally came to be outcasts living under the sea. Truth relates in detail some of her experiences with mankind, which would fit perfectly in a reconstruction of Chapter

²² Cf. pp. 314-315 of *Sales Españolas o Agudezas del Ingenio nacional*, recogidas por A. Paz y Méliá. *Primera serie*, Madrid, 1890. (*Colección de Escritores castellanos*, Vol. 80.)

XV of the *Segunda Parte*. Indeed we find the missing promise of Lazaro in these words of Gallo: "y yo enamorado della me ofreçi a su perpetuo servicio pareçiendome que en el mundo no auia cosa más perfeta que desear."²³

This close parallelism between the several passages is too much to ascribe to coincidence alone. Granted that Truth may have been a legendary outcast, she would hardly appear by mere accident under such identical circumstances in three different works of the same period. Nor would imitation itself have been so persistent. Common authorship must therefore offer the most plausible explanation. It has already been very wisely suggested by Sr. Bonilla that Cristóbal de Villalón could have been the anonymous continuer of *Lazarillo de Tormes*,²⁴ and others have mentioned Villalón as the possible author of the original on much less evidence.²⁵ In the light of our discussion Sr. Bonilla's theory gathers much support. We know that Villalón, after extensive travels in Europe, was back in his native Valladolid in 1555. With his fondness for relating imaginative adventures as shown in the *Crotalón* and the *Diálogo de las transformaciones*, his would have been just the sort of genius to conceive a sequel to the popular *Lazarillo*, sending the hero through the fantastic tunny fish episode. The shipwreck incident as well as the references to Salamanca and Lazaro as a teacher of languages in the *Segunda Parte* recall experiences in the author's own life. He bitterly satirized the clergy in some of his works, which may partially account for their having remained in manuscript form. He would have been the most likely person to introduce the Truth episode in Chapter XV of the *Segunda Parte*, later redacting it and cutting out whole paragraphs as he did in the case of other works. These omitted portions of Truth's experiences apparently were afterwards embodied in the unpublished *Crotalón*. Finally, it must be remembered that Villalón had dealings with Antwerp printers, for in 1558 his *Gramatica castellana* was issued from the press of the same Guillermo Simon who published one of the 1555 editions of the *Segunda Parte*.

²³ Cf. *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, Vol. 7, p. 237.

²⁴ *Anales*, p. 221.

²⁵ Cejador in the introduction to his edition already cited. A. Morel-Fatio, *Vie de Lazarille de Tormès*, Paris, 1886, Préface, pp. xvi-xvii.

Any theory regarding the authorship of the anonymous continuation of the *Lazarillo* must, of course, be based on supposition. The observations ventured above are simply to be taken as indications which it is hoped may revive interest in a point of literary significance the importance of which has been too much neglected. It would be gratifying if other scholars like Professor Wagner should give their attention to this subject. As it is, he is to be greatly commended for initiating a movement to save the *Segunda Parte* from the fate which seems to be destined for most of its kind in literature.

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MISCELLANEOUS

CHRESTIEN DE TROYES'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS WOMAN

DURING the last four or five years several articles on Chrestien de Troyes have appeared in various scientific journals¹ showing that there is still a very strong interest in this Balzac of the twelfth century, and proving also that the last word about his works, his theories, his psychology is yet far from having been told. Chrestien is generally considered as the best exponent of courtly love as it was understood in the twelfth century and in the early part of the thirteenth; and it is also generally assumed that he was a *convinced* exponent, that he believed in what he was preaching, as does Miss Borodine, when she says:

"Entraîné par le courant des idées sentimentales qui s'épanouissent autour de lui, le poète champenois compose sa trilogie admirable de l'amour courtois: *Cligès*, *Lancelot*, *Yvain*. L'idéal de la gloire, chanté naguère avec enthousiasme [*Erec*], s'efface et pâlit maintenant devant l'éclat de l'astre nouveau."²

A certain irony, however, which I think can be seen throughout the works of Chrestien (in varying degrees, to be sure) and a certain matter-of-factness which appears time and again in his treatment of woman, lead me to the opinion that he was not perhaps as firm a believer in the theories which he was expounding as has been thought and said.

When we speak of Chrestien's irony we immediately think of the famous, almost savagely ironical passage in *Yvain* in which Laudine accepts to return the love and to become the wife of the

¹ M. Wilmette, *Chrétien de Troyes et le Conte de Guillaume d'Angleterre*, *Romania*, 1920, pp. 1-38; F. E. Guyer, *The Influence of Ovid on Chrestien de Troyes*, *ROM. REV.* XII, pp. 97-134, 216-247; Lucy M. Gay, *The Chronology of the Earlier Works of Chrestien de Troyes*, *ROM. REV.* XIV, pp. 47-60. We might also mention Myrrha Borodine's book, *La Femme et l'amour au XII^e siècle d'après les poèmes de Chrétien de Troyes*, Paris, 1909.

² Borodine, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

man who a few days before slew her husband, proving to herself through a love casuistry, which must have delighted Chrestien's admirers, that it is perfectly proper to do so, for he really has done her no harm!

"'Va!' fet ele, 'puez tu noier,
Que par toi ne soit morz mes sire?'
'Ce,' fet il, 'ne puis je desdire,
Ainz l'otroi bien.'—'Di donc, por quoi?
Feïs le tu por mal de moi,
Por haïne ne por despit?'
'Ja n'aie je de mort respit,
S'onques por mal de vos le fis.'
'Donc n'as tu rien vers moi mespris,
Ne vers lui n'eüs tu nul tort;
Car, s'il poïst, il t'eüst mort.
Por ce mien esciant cuit gié,
Que j'ai bien et a droit jugié.'" (Yv. 1760-72)

And when Yvain is brought before her by Lunete, she has not a single word of reproach, she cannot even be severe, she immediately adopts a bantering tone; and if she does not fall upon his neck as soon as he appears, it is only because she thinks it might be jarring even to him (cf. v. 1975 ff.).

If we considered only this passage, we would say that Chrestien undoubtedly was a woman-hater who could say nothing scathing enough about the weaker sex. But was he? Anyone who has written such a charming tale as *Erec et Enide* can hardly be accused of misogyny. If there is no sarcasm in this novel, there are at least touches of kindly irony here and there, as for instance when our poet tells us that Enide is going to commit suicide because she thinks Erec is dead, and yet makes her delay long enough to enable Count Oringle de Limors to come and rescue her:

"L'espee fors del fuerre tret,
Si la comance a regarder.
Deus la fist un po retarder,
Qui plains est de misericorde." (E. et E. v. 4670-3)

Again we find a good deal of gentle irony in *Cligès*. Even if we leave aside the irony which appears in the rather long passages

in which Soredamor and Cligès are analyzing their nascent love (v. 475 ff.; 625 ff.; 897 ff.; 998 ff.; etc.)—and which Mr. Guyer shows us not to be peculiar to Chrestien, but to be Ovidian—we have other touches which seem to be more personal, as when, for example, Chrestien states that Soredamor accepts Alexander because she is entirely “au comandement la reine” (2338), or when he tells us that after having rescued Fenice from the hands of the Saxon duke, Cligès is taking her back to the Greeks’ camp and that, although both would like nothing better than to talk of their love for each other, they are afraid to do so. The poet adds:

“Se cele comancier ne l’ose,
N’est mervolle; car simple chose
Doit estre pucele et coarde.” (*Cl.* 3839-41)

A rather amusing statement for us who know of the love potion she has caused her husband to drink!

If leaving aside irony we will now consider matter-of-factness, we will also find plenty of examples. One of the first things which strikes us in reading Chrestien’s works is the slight regard with which woman is so often treated in the serious matters of life. She is at times exalted, almost deified, and the next moment she is treated almost like chattel. This, of course, may be due to the fact that courtly love had become an art, a science of which woman was the high-priestess, whereas in real life she occupied a secondary, dependent legal position. Nevertheless, the two things are hard to reconcile; and it shows, I think, that Chrestien—and he was not alone—did not take very seriously the science of courtly love, and even considered it as foolish.

In *Erec et Enide*, for instance, when Erec comes to the vavasor’s house, he thinks nothing of letting Enide, at her father’s command, take his horse to the stable, remove its saddle and bridle, currycomb and groom it, and then give it oats and hay (v. 451-58); again when he discovers how pretty and well behaved the girl is, he falls in love with her; but he does not swoon or change color, he merely asks bluntly for her hand:

“Mes je vos promet et otroi,
Se vos d’armes m’apareilliez
Et votre fille me baillez

Demain a l'esprevier conquerre,
Que je l'an manrai an ma terre,
Se Deus la victoire me done." (*E. et E.* v. 657-63)

The vavassor himself is just as blunt, he does not ask his daughter what she thinks about it, nor does he discuss the question with his wife; he merely takes the girl by the hand and says to Erec: "'Tenez!' fet il, 'je la vos doing'" (678). Enide herself is perfectly matter-of-fact in all this. She has absolutely nothing to say on the subject, and seems to be entirely passive. Of course, she loves Erec, but this love was very sudden for she had never seen him before, and probably had never heard of him. Somehow we have a feeling that she would have submitted in very much the same fashion had it been anyone else than Erec.

There is nothing exalted or even refined about Fenice when she is discussing her love for Cligès with her nurse, and in the extremely frank statements she makes about her husband-to-be (cf. v. 3170 ff.). This is almost shocking in a young girl who is not supposed to know much about life! Further on, in the same book, when Cligès has come back from Arthur's court and Fenice one day is telling him of the way her husband was drugged on his wedding-day with the attendant result (v. 5235 ff.), we can see nothing poetical about it. Her matter-of-factness, her cunning and her desire for security in her sin and for avoiding all blame are rather distasteful and show a calculating woman rather than a great lover. She would be much more charming if she abandoned herself in a more natural fashion, without all the careful planning which is used in preparing what becomes deliberate and perfectly conscious adultery. Her manner of telling Cligès that she will not be his until he has found a way of insuring her complete safety and blamelessness seems more like a bargain than a lover's promise (v. 5263 ff.); and Fenice makes us think of a woman who sells herself rather than of one who freely abandons herself to the one she loves.

It would hardly be worth while to discuss at length every passage which shows matter-of-factness. It will be sufficient that such passages be merely mentioned, as those familiar with Chrestien's works will immediately recall the episodes alluded to.

In *Guillaume d'Angleterre* we have the way in which the king

takes his misfortune when separated from his wife and new-born sons (v. 748-9; 871 ff.). In the same work, we may mention the marriage venture of Graciene with Gleoläis (v. 1107 ff.). Especially interesting is the passage in which Chrestien shows the moral struggle which takes place in Graciene's mind: she does not want to become the wife of Gleoläis, but on the other hand she would like very much to have his estate, she would like to have the social prestige which would come to her by such a marriage without having to fulfill the obligations which it would entail upon her—in other words she would like to do what the French call "ménager la chèvre et le chou," a most common of human characteristics if not one of the noblest, which shows Chrestien's common sense and understanding of the average man's or woman's psychology (v. 1196 ff.).

In *Lancelot* when the hero is reconciled with Guenevere and he asks her if he could not see her at some other time to talk with her more freely:

"Et la reine une fenestre
Li mostre a l'uel, non mie an doi," (*Lan.* v. 4524-5)

we have a very graphic and matter-of-fact detail, as are also the arrangements which the two make later in the night about Lancelot's coming into the Queen's room.

Finally in *Yvain*, the passage already mentioned at the beginning of this article during which Laudine and Yvain come to terms, and especially the way in which, after having accepted Yvain as her next husband, Laudine adds:

". De ci nos an irons
An cele sale, ou mes janz sont,
Qui loé et conseillié m'ont,
Por le besoing que il i voient,^a
Que mari a prandre m'otroient." (*Yv.* v. 2040-44)

If I have examined somewhat at length those passages showing either irony or matter-of-factness, it is not because they are very new, but because, to my mind, they show the real Chrestien as contrasted with the literary, artificial Chrestien. Our Champenois was, I think, a well-balanced, sensible person

^a I am changing the punctuation slightly.

who had too much common sense—and probably he was not devoid of a touch of what we know as “esprit gaulois”—to accept fully and believe genuinely in courtly love. I should even go further and say that he had a real distaste for the art or science of love, and that if he wrote such romances as *Cligès*, *Lancelot*, *Yvain* or *Perceval* in which love is sublimated and woman exalted, it is not because he had an exalted idea of either, but because it was the fashion in his day and because, as a court poet, and in order to exist, he was obliged to write to suit the taste of his patrons and admirers. I believe that Chrestien, had he been entirely free, would have preferred to write such stories as *Erec et Enide* or *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, and that these represent his true, natural manner.

This leads me to say a word about the chronology of the earlier works of Chrestien, and especially about the place to which his *Guillaume d'Angleterre* must be assigned. While I agree with Miss Gay when she tells us at the end of her article that her

“examination of the Ovidian material in *Cligès* shows that there is not enough in it that was not already in the literature with which Chrestien was familiar before he wrote *Erec*, to create even a slight probability that before he wrote *Cligès* he had taken a fresh draft from Ovid”⁴

I don't think that this is sufficient in itself to reach her conclusion about the accepted chronology: the Ovidiana, the *Tristan* story, *Erec*, *Cligès*. On the other hand while I am of the same opinion as Mr. Guyer in thinking that *Erec et Enide* is Chrestien's first work, I do not agree with him when he says, speaking of *Guillaume d'Angleterre*:

“The author of such a love episode might have been he who wrote *Erec et Enide* before his interest in Ovidian love had been awakened, but surely not that Chrestien of the latter period who had acquired a new psychology of love.”⁵

This might be true if we could assume that when he wrote *Erec et Enide* Chrestien knew nothing about Ovidian love, a thing which Miss Gay has shown conclusively, I think, to be impossible, or if we granted that Chrestien became a thoroughly uncompromising

⁴ Gay, *loc. cit.*, p. 60.

⁵ Guyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 247.

apostle of Ovidian or courtly love, something I hope to have shown improbable. I know it is hard to believe that a man having written nothing before should for his coup d'essai give such a work as *Erec et Enide*, but we must not forget that geniuses are born, not made.

In an article entitled *Chrétien de Troyes et le Conte de Guillaume d'Angleterre*,⁶ M. Wilmotte comes to the following conclusion concerning the place to be assigned to *Guillaume* among the works of Chrestien:

"Tout au plus serais-je, à titre conjectural, enclin à admettre, comme le début de *Cligès* ignore notre conte et que celui-ci fait trop d'honneur à l'auteur pour qu'il l'ait volontairement omis, qu'il y travaillait en même temps qu'à l'histoire du fils de Soredamor, mais qu'il ne le publia qu'après."⁷

I believe he is right in his last statement, viz., that *Guillaume* was published after *Cligès*, but I doubt whether the two works were written at the same time.

The only thing that remains to be explained is this: How is it that Chrestien should have written two novels which show no Ovidian influence or so little as to amount to nothing when he seems to have been so very much influenced by the Latin poet in his other works; and how is it that those two works which seem to stand apart from the rest should also be apart from one another? I am inclined to explain it thus: Chrestien who was evidently a very gifted youth wrote the story of *Erec et Enide*. This was, of course, noticed by the reading public and probably brought Chrestien to the attention of wealthy patrons who must have told him that he should devote his talent to writing novels which would be more to the liking of such patrons and, especially, patronesses. Someone may even have commissioned him to translate Ovid into French. While thus engaged he might have had the idea of writing a novel of courtly love, or he might have been asked to do so: this novel is *Cligès*. Then, more or less weary of such a romance, weary of writing about something he did not really have at heart, he began to write another story, a novel of adventure in a more natural way, *Guillaume d'Angleterre*.

⁶ *Romania*, 1920, pp. 1-38.

⁷ Wilmotte, *loc. cit.*, p. 38

Would it be too rash to suppose that having shown part of this tale to his patroness Marie de Champagne, she might have expressed strong disapproval and might even have ordered Chrestien to write only on themes dealing with courtly love; and that our poet, exasperated at this treatment, in a sort of paroxysm of rage wrote *Lancelot* in which he shows what the results of such love may be, then *Yvain* in which he rebels against the tyranny of woman, and finally *Perceval* which he did not finish, perhaps through lack of sufficient interest. This might also perhaps explain the shortness of *Guillaume* (only 3366 lines) which our poet might have intended to make about as long as his other works, but which, under the circumstances, he would have brought to an end sooner than he had contemplated.⁸ To me this does not seem rash or improbable, it even seems likely; and it is why I should be disposed to arrange Chrestien's works in the following order: *Erec et Enide*, the Ovidiana, *Cligès*, *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, *Lancelot*, *Yvain*, and last, of course, the unfinished *Perceval*.

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⁸ And we must not forget that Chrestien did not finish his *Lancelot* himself, but that his friend "Godefroiz de Leigni, li clers, A parfinee la charrete" (v. 7124-5).

MEMORANDUM ON THE PROBLEM OF AN INTERNATIONAL AUXILIARY LANGUAGE

THE following memorandum is offered from the point of view of one who is greatly interested in linguistic study on its own account. Like many, perhaps most, linguistic students he has until recently been only moderately interested, if at all, in the various proposals that have been made from time to time to create an International Language that might be used alongside the many national languages already in use. Within the last year or two, however, the increasingly practical nature of the problem has been borne in upon him as well as the reasonable possibility of its solution. It has seemed to him, however, that a wider acquaintance with linguistic phenomena than most of those who are interested in the International Language movements presumably possess would have enabled them to evolve far simpler and more readily acquired auxiliary languages than those which have actually been proposed. The writer is particularly impressed by the needless adherence to the irrelevances and elegances of our western European languages and he wonders why a language like Chinese, which has produced a poetic and philosophic literature of the greatest subtlety, can do without cases, modes, tenses, and a complex system of derivations when an international language like Esperanto, which is supposed to be a carefully thought out and ideally simple means of communication, indulges in all kinds of linguistic luxuries. In the following remarks the attempt has been made to cut to the bone of what is necessary in practical communication that does not aim to ape the literary graces of English or French. The needs of aliens who have not grown up in our Occidental civilization are particularly borne in mind. It seems not unreasonable to proceed on the assumption that it is worth while to consider these needs and to try to learn something from the structure of languages simpler than Italian or Spanish or any of their International derivatives.

But the writer feels strongly that ruthless simplicity is not the only thing to consider. A great deal of useful energy has already been expended on International Language work and this energy and its results must be utilized. Moreover, the movement is mainly in the hands of the Occidental world, and it is very possible that a maximum of theoretical simplicity would present certain unforeseen psychological difficulties. The writer is very far indeed from wishing to put forward radically new proposals. They would be utterly futile. Yet he hopes that some of the points raised in this memorandum may assist in simplifying the International Language problem, whatever basis (Esperanto, Ido, Latino sine Flexione, or other) be ultimately adopted, and make clear the need for experimental research before responsible bodies commit themselves to any one form of International Language.

The memorandum is divided into four parts: *A*, General Principles; *B*, Certain Applications of the General Principles; *C*, Suggestions for Research; *D*, Affiliation with Scientific Bodies.

A. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

An International Auxiliary Language should have the following characteristics:

1. It should have no sounds (vowels and consonants) that cause serious difficulty to large bodies of speakers.
2. It should have the simplest grammatical structure that is consonant with effectiveness. It should not merely have a structure that is theoretically simple, logical, and regular, but that is most easily assimilated, on psychological grounds, by the greatest number of diverse peoples.
3. It should be so constructed as to be readily convertible into any of the major languages now in use. And, conversely, it should be able to render the essential meaning, without danger of ambiguity, of a text composed in any of these languages.
4. It should have considerable flexibility of structure, so that any speaker may not too greatly impair its intelligibility if he bends it involuntarily to constructions familiar to him in his own language. There should be some opportunity for alter-

nation of expression, such as the option of using or not using elements indicating certain concepts, like number or tense.

5. It should be built as far as possible out of materials that are familiar to the speakers of West European languages.

Of lesser importance, yet worthy of consideration, are the following principles:

6. The International Language should, so far as possible, be a logical development of international linguistic habits that have been formed in the past.

7. It should be capable of expression in shorthand with the utmost ease.

8. Its phonetic system should be such as to make it intelligible with a minimum of ambiguity on the telephone, phonograph, and by radio.

B. CERTAIN APPLICATIONS OF THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES

The numeration corresponds to *A*.

1. (*a*) There are certain consonants which should be avoided because found in relatively few languages, such as *th* of English *thin* and *th* of English *then*, *ch* of German *Bach* and *ch* of German *ich*. But this is not all. There are certain consonants which, while not exactly uncommon, are not generally found or are often not found if certain other consonants that resemble them are in existence in the language. Thus, neither *w* nor *v* of English *wine* and *vine* is an uncommon sound, but there are many languages which do not possess both. Hence to recognize both *w* and *v* is to invite confusion in such languages. Either *w* or *v* should be explicitly recognized and the other considered an alternative pronunciation. Thus, if *w* is adopted, Poles and Italians may legitimately pronounce it *v*; if *v* is adopted, Chinese and Arabic speakers may legitimately pronounce it *w*. Had this principle been adopted in Esperanto, we should not have both *s* and *ŝ*, nor both *c* and *ĉ*; *s* and *ŝ*, for instance, would have been considered as merely variant pronunciations of one sibilant consonant. In fact, the whole group of sibilants—*s*, *ŝ*, *c*, *ĉ*—might with advantage have been reduced to one, *s*. There is no doubt that a careful survey of the whole phonetic field would suggest a simplified consonant system that would make

the learning of Esperanto, Ido, or other International Language very much easier.

(b) Consonant combinations should be avoided as far as possible, but this principle would probably need to be checked considerably by other considerations. By simplifying too much, we might in many cases lose the very real advantages of immediate recognition of words and of historical continuity.

(c) The vocalic system should be cut down to a minimum. The series *a, e, i, o, u* is plenty; *a, i, u* alone would have very distinct ethnic and acoustic advantages, but would probably so distort the appearance of words as to introduce new difficulties. No prosodic peculiarities, such as differences between long and short vowels, differences of stress accent, or differences of tone, should be recognized, as the habits of different languages are too various and inflexible on such points as these.

2. (a) There seems to be no need to insist on the specific expression of certain grammatical concepts that most of us are accustomed to. The usefulness of tense distinctions is greatly overestimated, for instance. Even in English there is no grammatical difference between present and future in cases like "I'm working" and "I'm working tomorrow." Word particles can always be appended if it is necessary to convey the idea of tense. Such complexities as the three Esperanto tenses with their symbolic vowels and attached participles are quite uncalled for, add nothing to clarity of thought, make for pedantry in expression, and greatly increase the difficulty of learning the language. In general, neat symbolisms of expression are more attractive on paper than they are either necessary or desirable in practice. What applies to tense applies also to gender, case, mode, probably number, and several other categories. "Yesterday he kill several cow" is quite as adequate as "yesterday he killed several cows." Certain rules of order of words, implication as to concepts not definitely expressed, and optional use of "empty" words to define case relation, tense, and other grammatical ideas, could be very easily worked out and would prove astonishingly effective. There are many cases where "ambiguity" is a real advantage. "He kill man" might be looked upon as a blanket statement for "he kills a (the) man," "he

kills (the) men," "he killed . . . ," and so on, precisely as in Chinese. In real usage it is most instructive to see how little ambiguity such bare and simple propositions contain, because there is always a context. Moreover, we are often driven to greater definiteness of expression than we are actually aiming at; we are the dupes of our forms. For instance, in a legal clause like "Any person or persons who has or have knowledge of, or who has or have had knowledge of, such act or acts" there is obviously a labored attempt to express the generalized "Person who know (about) such act." Where number and tense *have* to be particularized, one can always add qualifying elements, thus, "One person who know such act," "Several person who did know such several act," and so on. (Of course "one," "several," and "did" are here used merely as approximate English counters for whatever appropriate terms may actually be adopted.) In short, the ideal of effective simplicity is attained by a completely analytic language, one in which the whole machinery of formal grammar is reduced to carefully defined word order and to the optional use of "empty" independent words (like "several," "did," "of"). Inflection is reduced to zero. This is the ideal that English has been slowly evolving towards for centuries and that Chinese attained many centuries ago after passing through a more synthetic prehistoric phase. (The simplicity of Chinese grammar is not a primitive trait, but is at the polar extreme from "primitiveness.")

(b) In the expression of derivative ideas (place, instrument, adjectival, and many others) there is room for great simplification. The international languages that have been suggested seem to make it a matter of pride to have a great many deriving affixes and to luxuriate in the endless possibilities of coining new words, whenever wanted, by means of the derivational apparatus. A far better economy of material would seem to demand that derivation be either eliminated or reduced to a minimum. Psychologically, it is quite false to imagine that the memorizing of a series of derivative words of type $A + x$, $B + x$, $C + x$, $D + x$ (e.g., *bak-er*, *farm-er*, *cult-er*, *press-er*) reduces to the memorizing of the root words A , B , C , D (e.g., *bake*, *farm*, *cut*, *press*) plus the memorizing of a deriving affix x (e.g., *-er*) of given

function (e.g., "one who . . ."). As a matter of fact, such derivative words have to be learned as units, though the memorizing of them is naturally less laborious than of words absolutely unrelated to words already mastered. There seem to be two ways of simplifying the problem of derivative formations. One is to compound independent words, e.g., *bake man* or *bake person* for *baker*, *cold time* for *winter*, *make strong* for *strengthen*, *more old* for *older*. In a sense such compound expressions have to be learned as units too, but there seems to be a very real psychological advantage in having every element in the language independently expressive. The speakers and readers of such a language come to feel that in a comparatively short time they have memorized everything there is to know and that they have a free, creative use of the language after that. The second method is intertwined with the first. It consists in a simplification of the form pattern. A rigorous thinking out of the true content of a sentence as contrasted with its purely formal convolutions often reveals the humiliating fact that it could have been expressed with half the apparatus. Abstract nouns, in particular, are not nearly so useful or necessary as is generally assumed. There should, perhaps, be some provision for their formation, perhaps by means of some indefinite noun like *thing* or *matter* or *way* (e.g., *wise way* for *wisdom*), but the real point is that they can often be easily avoided, and with a gain in vividness. Thus, there is nothing in the sentence "The wisdom of old age chills youth" which is not as adequately expressed, and with a more intuitive impact, in such a sentence as "Wise old person make cold (to) young person" (or "The wise old make cold the young"). In other words, we must not too lightly assume that the grooves of thought which we are accustomed to in our European languages are the easiest or most natural in a universal sense. It may be worth our while to get into the habit of simplifying the pattern of our thought. We are likely to find that it is helped, rather than hindered, by the unassuming simplicity of such languages as Chinese. Much of our seeming subtlety in expression is really verbiage.

(c) But experience may show that the average European mentality, as it actually functions today, cannot go quite so far

as is suggested here (*a, b*). This would not necessarily prevent one from aiming towards the gradual realization of an analytic ideal of linguistic expression. The main point at present would seem to be to introduce the possibility of far greater flexibility of individual expression. If, for instance, it gradually became apparent that a more Chinese-like use of Esperanto or Ido or Latino or Romanal, whether by Chinese or others, had certain definite advantages, there is no reason why such use might not gradually grow in favor at the expense of the uses already standardized. It seems a mistake to legislate too rigidly at the present time on points of grammar. Attention should be concentrated rather on the formation of a universally accepted *minimum* vocabulary, sufficient for ordinary purposes.

3. If a language is too synthetic, translation from it or into it is necessarily more difficult than if it is analytic in structure. If two languages, one of which is to be translated into the other, are very different in structure, each must be analyzed, consciously or unconsciously, into the concepts, both factual and relational, which are expressed in it, so that the equivalences of the two languages may be discovered or constructed. In dealing with a thoroughly analytic language this task of mutual accommodation is appreciably lightened because the conceptual analysis has been made by at least one of the two languages itself. The more analytic a language is, the more easily does it serve as a circulating medium for all others. It should be carefully borne in mind that tests of the efficiency of Esperanto, for instance, as an expressive equivalent of French or Spanish or Italian or German do not really prove the adequacy of Esperanto as a universal "circulating medium" for the simple reason that Esperanto is modeled on these very languages. A Frenchman or a Spaniard is heavily biased in its favor, in advance of any knowledge he may have of it, where a Chinaman or Japanese or other non-European is not nearly so greatly impressed by its simplicity or its ready equivalence to his own language. Universal adequacy does not mean a readiness to provide word for word translations of other languages, but simply ease in reflecting their essential meaning.

4. The importance of grammatical flexibility or choice has

been shown in 2. We cannot hope to reduce the linguistic psychology of all speakers to one level. Hence we need a language of structural "lowest terms." Many people may feel that a certain poverty results, but this poverty, if such it really be, is likely to make for an increase of true mutual understanding. It is remarkable what excellent work can be accomplished by so unpretentious a *lingua franca* as the Chinook Jargon, which has been, and to a large extent still is, used between the whites and Indians of the Pacific Coast and between various Indian tribes of this region that speak mutually unintelligible languages. This Jargon, which has not a large basic vocabulary and is built on strictly analytic lines, is not merely a trade language but has developed such adroitness with its seemingly slender means that long religious and political harangues can be and are delivered in it. The Indians themselves, who speak perhaps the most complexly synthetic languages that are to be found anywhere, seem to have no notion that the Jargon is an "imperfect" language but consider it a perfectly adequate medium for inter-tribal communication. A vast part of our vocabulary is dedicated to feeling rather than to meaning and is of no use for scientific, business or other practical work.

5. There is no theoretical reason why an Auxiliary International Language should not be made out of whole cloth, as it were, but the practical advantages of using known material are too obvious to be insisted upon. It is perhaps unfortunate that Esperanto is built out of such historically diverse elements as French, Latin, Greek, English, and German, though the history of the English language is abundant testimony of the practical possibilities of combining words of different origins into new syntheses. There is a certain incongruity that results which affects some people much more unpleasantly than others, and undoubtedly this feature has done a great deal to prevent Esperanto from spreading as rapidly as it might have. The Romanal idea of a historically unified vocabulary is psychologically sounder, because such a vocabulary canalizes easily with systems of word associations that are widely prevalent. Latino sine Flexione too is psychologically sounder than Esperanto or Ido. It has all the advantages of these of being

built out of generally known materials and the important further advantage of not forcing violently new associations. A vast number of people have a fair smattering of the Latin vocabulary but an imperfect memory of the rules of Latin grammar. A language which capitalizes both this knowledge and this ignorance is really in a psychologically impregnable position.

6. In a wider historical sense too *Latino sine Flexione* has a great advantage. It is worth remembering that Latin has a practically unbroken history as the international language of West European civilization. Of late centuries this tradition has become rather threadbare but it has never died out completely. The various proposals submitted in this memorandum are perhaps best synthesized by taking Peano's *Latino* as a basis and simplifying it still further in the direction of a thoroughly analytic language, minimizing, so far as possible, the use of derivational suffixes. One of the incidental advantages of *Latino sine Flexione* is that it can serve as a useful stepping stone towards the learning of Latin itself.

7. The requirements of a shorthand of maximum ease emphasize once more the importance of a very simple scheme of consonants and vowels. It is worth working for a stenographic system that is so simple and transparent, so rapid even without abbreviations, that the International Language can be directly learned, written, and printed in it. This may ultimately prove to be an important economic asset. If the phonetic system of the International Language is simple enough, the labor of learning and using a good shorthand system would be appreciably less than that of learning and using longhand.

8. Experience seems to show that certain sound differences that seem clear enough in ordinary speech tend to be minimized or obscured in mechanical transmission. Examples are the vowels *e* : *i* and *o* : *u* and the consonant pairs *p* : *b*, *t* : *d*, *k* : *g*, *s* : *z*, *f* : *v*. It might be found advantageous to level these pairs of sounds and to consider them as one each. If one had the option of constructing an ideal universal phonetic system, he would probably limit himself to:

(a) 3 vowels—*a*, *i*, *u*.

(b) 8 consonants—*p*, *t*, *k*, *s*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *v*.

(c) All syllables to end in a vowel (perhaps also in *m* or *n*).

Such a system (built out of syllables of type *a*, *i*, *u*: *pa*, *pi*, *pu*: *la*, *li*, *lu*; 9 x 3 or 27 basic syllables) would be absurdly easy to learn to write in shorthand and would provide more than enough basic vocables for even the most elaborate vocabulary. If we limit ourselves to words of one, two, and three syllables, a simple calculation shows that this system gives us the means of forming:

$$\begin{aligned} 9 \times 3 &= 27 \text{ (monosyllabic)} \\ 27 \times 27 &= 729 \text{ (disyllabic)} \\ 27 \times 27 \times 27 &= 19,683 \text{ (trisyllabic)} \\ &\underline{\hspace{1.5cm}} \\ &20,439 \text{ basic words.} \end{aligned}$$

A language built out of such materials could be acoustically perceived at once without the slightest real danger of ambiguity, could be pronounced accurately at once (allowing for such optional pronunciations as *r* for *l* and *w* for *v*) by every person on the globe, and could be learnt as a shorthand orthography in an hour by any person of normal intelligence. The great disadvantage of so simplified a system is, of course, that it would so distort the Latino, say, or Romanal or Ido words as to impair the historic usefulness of their vocabularies. But Oriental and other exotic habits of speech might gradually suggest or even force a compromise with it.

C. SUGGESTIONS FOR RESEARCH

Certain kinds of experimental work may now be suggested. These are intended to substantiate or, possibly, disprove some of the points made in the preceding paragraphs. The numeration corresponds to that of *A* and *B*.

1. Experiments could be undertaken to test the relative ease with which various sounds are heard and sound differences are perceived. As many distinct nationalities as possible should be represented. The test words should be nonsense words, so that the helping or hindering influence of actual word associations may be avoided. Another set of experiments would test the ability of different nationalities to pronounce various sounds. If it is found, for instance, that the acoustic and articulatory distinction between *s* and *z*, or *l* and *r*, causes real embarrassment

to large and important populations, there is good reason to eliminate the distinction in an international language or, if this cannot be done, so to tinker with the vocabulary as to minimize the danger of too many words occurring which differ only in such sound distinctions as cause trouble.

2. Experiments could be undertaken to ascertain with what ease people of various nationalities can learn to understand, in writing and as spoken, a highly simplified recasting of their own language along the analytical lines that we have laid down. How readily, for instance, after the rules for the simplified form of their language have been carefully explained, can Germans get at the meaning of sentences like "er tat gebe zwei Pferd zu ich (*or* mich)" for "er hat mir zwei Pferde gegeben"? Next, with what ease can they learn to compose in such a broken-down form of their language? These two sets of experiments would attempt to discover how readily the average person can learn to think in a completely analytic mould without complicating the problem by the necessity of memorizing a stock of unfamiliar words.

After this, other sets of experiments could be designed to test the ability of various people to learn to understand, in writing and as spoken, and to compose in a constructed analytical language based on Esperanto or Romanal or Latino sine Flexione. Compare with their ability to do the same for Esperanto or Ido or Latino sine Flexione as actually used. Direct comparisons, however, should not be made after too brief a period of experimentation, for a highly analytic language, built on Chinese lines, is likely to be unconsciously resisted on emotional grounds as "ridiculous" or "too childish" for a while. After a short period of resistance, however, the advantages of such a language are likely to sink in at a rapid rate.

3. After the more tentative experiments, chiefly with isolated sentences, recommended in 2, more elaborate tests should be made in translating from and to the suggested analytic language (using native, Esperanto, and Latin material). Then compare with similar translation experiments in actual Esperanto and Latino sine Flexione. Esperantists and accomplished Latin scholars are probably best excluded as subjects from these experiments. It would be worth while getting personal estimates from

individuals of different nationalities as to the relative ease and adequacy of translation in the different groups of cases, also some indication of the emotional attitude (readiness to acceptance, irrational dislike) of those experimented on.

4. Check or control experiments might be valuable. Selected business or scientific texts in, say, English, French, German, Japanese, and Chinese might be translated by those speaking these languages into other accepted languages, into Esperanto (by an Esperantist), into Ido (by an Idist), into Latino sine Flexione, and into some form or forms of thoroughly analytic languages. These translations could then be retranslated both directly and also *via* a third language into their originals or a third language by other individuals and compared with the original texts to see if the essential meaning has not been lost in the processes of translation.

5. It might be worth preparing a questionnaire intended to throw light on the psychological attitude of different people towards the question of an international language with a homogeneous or with a mixed vocabulary.

6. It might be worth making an effort to cooperate with Peano to see if a universally satisfactory form of Latino sine Flexione might not be agreed upon, in which simplification of the language is pushed even further, as many as possible of the derivatives being dispensed with.

7. One or more of the existing shorthand systems might be adapted to various forms of International Auxiliary Language. Speed, ease of writing, and legibility could be tested. In particular, it would be worth while finding out if a shorthand system, when applied to a language of maximum phonetic simplicity, could be made universally legible when applied with no more than average care, instead of merely legible to the writer himself.

8. The telephone and radio people might be asked to test out the possible advantages in transmission of an extremely simple and unambiguous phonetic system as compared with the ones used by Esperanto, Latino sine Flexione, or actually spoken languages. Inasmuch as these experiments would be designed to test the unambiguous transmissibility of sounds and sound combinations as such rather than of languages, it might be

advisable to use nonsense material built out of the respective phonetic systems. If the highly simplified phonetic system suggested in *B* proves to have very decided advantages from the point of view of *C* 7, 8, it becomes a rather more than academic matter whether or not the phonetic system of the International Auxiliary Language be left as at present used in Esperanto or Latino sine Flexione.

D. AFFILIATION WITH SCIENTIFIC BODIES

It would be advantageous to have the auxiliary language movement get into as close touch as possible with the various scientific bodies that are interested in linguistic research, so that eventually they may give the movement active sympathy and collective backing. No doubt many of the members of such Societies are at present uninterested in the problem. But it should be possible to get an important nucleus of membership in each Society interested, which may then draw the attention of the Society as a whole to the importance of the problem and invite general discussion.

Signed by EDWARD SAPIR
LEONARD BLOOMFIELD
FRANZ BOAS
JOHN L. GERIG
GEORGE PHILIP KRAPP

THE "LAUREA" NOTE IN THE LIGHT OF THE *SECRETUM*

IN the copy of Vergil which formerly belonged to Petrarch is a manuscript note¹ usually referred to as the "Laurea" Note; it purports to have been written by Petrarch, telling of the death of Laura; it also tells the date and place of Petrarch's first meeting with Laura, where he was when she died and where she was buried; after these statements of fact, none of which has been verified, the Note has a few lines of lamentation. There have been many discussions of the genuineness of this Note; and in these various discussions, the two main points of attack have been the handwriting and the sincerity. Pierre de Nolhac,² for example, is of the opinion that the handwriting is unquestionably Petrarch's. Furthermore, he seems convinced³ that the tone of the Note is characteristic of Petrarch; and, among others, Gröber⁴ has supported him, adducing the similarity of this Note to the other obituary notices found in the Vergil as additional evidence of Petrarch's authorship.

I rather doubt that any final proof can be made on a basis of handwriting, and, in this case, after careful examination of various photostat reproductions, I could not find more than a decided resemblance between this manuscript and other Petrarchian manuscripts; a resemblance which to me precludes neither the possibility that Petrarch wrote the Note, nor that a forger did. As for the question of sincerity, I see various characteristics of style which tend to raise in my mind strong doubts of its genuineness.

So far as I know, no one has discussed the relationship of the Note to Petrarch's *de Contemptu Mundi*—three imaginary dialogues with St. Augustine which he called his *Secretum*.⁵ These

¹ The text is given in de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme*, 1907, II, pp. 286-287.

² *Ibid.*, p. 286.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

⁴ G. Gröber, *Von Petrarca's Laura*, in *Miscellanea di Studi Critici edita in Onore di Arturo Graf*, 1903, pp. 66-74.

⁵ I have used the text given in the "Henricpetri" edition of Petrarch's works, Basel, 1581.

three dialogues are in the form of a confessional in which Petrarch opens out his soul to St. Augustine.⁶ Briefly—the first dialogue shows that men are the causers of their own miseries and that their only hope for recovery lies in meditating on life's brevity and uncertainty; the second explains how Petrarch is guilty in varying degrees of the seven deadly sins; the third shows that the two strongest chains which bind Petrarch to the carnal world are his love for Laura and his desire for glory.

In a comparison of these two works, the problem of dating them is important, but it is not soluble with any degree of accuracy with the information I have been able to discover. The Note quite clearly must have been written in or after 1348;⁷ most commonly it has been assigned to 1348 or 1349 because an obituary notice would normally be entered soon after the death it records; Wulff's hypothesis is 1361–1363,⁸ but this has not been proved; furthermore, if it is genuine, it cannot be later than 1374, the date of Petrarch's death, and, if it is a forgery, it would be after 1374; finally, it is worthy of remark that the first known mention of the existence of this Note dates from the fifteenth century.⁹ All of this is indefinite. In his thorough discussion of the date of the *Secretum*,¹⁰ Körting concludes that it was begun in 1342 and completed or revised in 1354 or later; his theory is founded on two statements in the *Secretum*: first, a remark that Petrarch's love for Laura has lasted sixteen years,¹¹ which, if the date of the first meeting of Petrarch and Laura given in the Note is correct, dates the *Secretum* at 1342 or 1343;¹² and second, an unmistakable reference to the burning of Petrarch's house,¹³ which occurred in the winter of 1353. Even if this hypothesis

⁶ G. Körting, *Petrarca's Leben und Werke*, 1878, pp. 630–646, gives a convenient summary in German of the whole *Secretum*.

⁷ De Nolhac, *op. cit.*, p. 286: "anno . . . m iiii^o xlviii ab hac luce lux illa subtracta est."

⁸ Fr. Wulff, *Deux Discours sur Pétrarque en Résumé*, p. 2.

⁹ Wulff, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹⁰ Körting, *op. cit.*, p. 649.

¹¹ *Secretum*, *op. cit.*, pp. 353–354.

¹² De Nolhac, *op. cit.*, p. 286: "primum oculis meis apparuit . . . anno Domini M iiii xxviii," but this must be a misprint for 1327, which is clearly the date on the photostat copy of the manuscript, which is the date accepted by all other writers, and which is the date given in the 1892 edition of de Nolhac.

¹³ *Secretum*, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

be true, it gives such a broad range of years of composition that we cannot say whether the *Secretum* antedates the Note, or vice versa, unless the latter is a forgery.

The bulk of the "Laurea" Note is similar in tone and style to the other Notes on the deaths of Petrarch's friends; the last sentence is a divagation from the obituary form, and it consists of a series of concepts which are promulgated and expanded in the *Secretum*, the shortness of life, the vanity of human wishes, the uncertainty of the time of death; the necessity for thinking constantly and honestly about all of these matters. In fact, these last few lines, from "Ut scilicet" on,¹⁴ are little more than a summary of the salient points of the *Secretum*. This seems rather unusual in a Note which one would expect to be of a highly personal character. But it may be urged that these are stock medieval religious ideas which would naturally be in the mind of a faithful Catholic when considering death, so it is worth while to compare a few verbal resemblances:

1. "quot inanes species circumvolant, quot supervacuae premunt curae," *Secretum*, p. 340.
"curas supervacuas, spes inanes," Note.
2. "Tempus est revertendi . . . te commoneo," *Secretum*, p. 361.
"tempus esse de Babilone fugiendi commonear," Note.
3. "hoc acriter viriliterque cogitandum est," *Secretum*, p. 364.
"acriter viriliterque cogitanti," Note.

These likenesses are too strong to be thought of as merely accidental. Aware of the possibility that they might be favorite phrases of Petrarch which recur again and again, I have gone through *De Ocio Religiosorum* and *De Vera Sapientia*,¹⁵ and I have found none of them. Therefore, it seems fairly certain that there has been a conscious copying from the *Secretum* in the Note or vice versa, according to the date of composition.

If the Note were written before the *Secretum*, we would

¹⁴ De Nolhac, *op. cit.*, p. 286: "ut scilicet nichil esse debere quod amplius mihi placeat in hac vita et, effracto maiore laqueo, tempus esse de Babilone fugiendi crebra horum inspectione et fugacissime aetatis estimatione commonear, quod previa Dei gratia, facile erit praeteriti temporis curas supervacuas spes inanes et inexpectatos exitus acriter ac viriliter cogitanti."

¹⁵ *Francisci Petrarcae Opera*, Basel, 1581, pp. 294-330.

have an example of an accomplished writer deliberately transferring phrases from a writing of a highly personal and poignant nature—phrases that are not especially notable or striking—to a composition which is a polished work of art. There seems no adequate reason possible for such a transference; the *Secretum* is far too carefully written to leave any chance that Petrarch was hurried, and so was forced to borrow from his own works. The natural—I feel the inevitable—inference is that the *Secretum* preceded the Note, and the way is cleared for the ultimate question: Did Petrarch or a forger do this copying?

This note claims to be a record of the death of a woman whom Petrarch loved for twenty-one years: it implies that her death was a tremendous loss to him. Can this be reconciled with the use of old ideas and stale phrases? Would one expect a lover on the death of his mistress to comment in words copied from a book he had already completed? On the other hand, a forger who expended a great deal of effort in imitating Petrarch's handwriting would also take the trouble to reproduce his style and his subject-matter, in so far as he could. The *Secretum* is particularly opportune as a source of material, for it purports to be Petrarch's most intimate book. In this connection, it is interesting to observe the phrase "tempus esse de Babilone fugiendi" which is found in the Note: time and again in his writings Petrarch has used Babylon to mean Avignon, while only once in a consciously stylistic letter has he used it to denote the world.¹⁶ This phrase has been a stumbling block to commentators on the Note because it seems inappropriate where it is, but it is explicable if this last sentence of the Note is regarded as being derived from the *Secretum*, for a forger while transferring suitable material would have quite readily taken over this concept of leaving France, which St. Augustine stresses so strongly in the *Secretum*.

Wulff, in his latest position,¹⁷ has developed the theory that Petrarch wrote the Note, but that the statements it contains are untrue and that its sole sincerity is an artistic sincerity; if that is true, it is barely possible that Petrarch might have borrowed

¹⁶ E. J. Mills, *The Secret of Petrarch*, pp. 76-77.

¹⁷ Wulff, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

from the *Secretum*. But in any event I feel that the evidence I have presented tends to cast strong doubt on the conception of the Note as being a spontaneous, sincere outburst of Petrarch's grief, and, hence, on the belief that it is available as an historical and honest psychological document.

HAROLD STEIN

NEW HAVEN, CONN

HENRY ALFRED TODD

The Seventh Annual Convention of the Modern Language Association of America was held in Sever Hall, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.), on December 26, 27, 28, 1889. On the evening of the 26th, the First Session was called to order by the President, James Russell Lowell. The address of welcome was given by the President of Harvard University, Charles W. Eliot. Then followed the notable address by James Russell Lowell, subsequently published in the Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America in its *Publications*, 1890, and finally in *The Complete Works of James Russell Lowell*, Boston, 1910, "The Study of Modern Languages" (vol. VII, pp. 131-159).

In this delightful address Mr. Lowell alluded to the fact that for nearly two hundred years no modern language was continuously and systematically taught at Harvard. He said: "It indicates a very remarkable, and, I think, a wholesome, change in our way of looking at things that I should now be addressing a numerous Society composed wholly of men engaged in teaching thoroughly and scientifically the very languages once deemed unworthy to be taught at all except as a social accomplishment or as a commercial subsidiary." Later he said: "When I first became interested in Old French I made a surprising discovery. If the books which I took from the College Library had been bound with gilt or yellow edges, these edges stuck together as, when so ornamented, they are wont to do till the leaves have been turned. No one had ever opened those books before. Old French is now one of regular courses of instruction, and not only is the language taught, but its literature as well.

"Remembering what I remember, it seems to me a wonderful thing that I should have lived to see a poem in Old French edited by a young American scholar (present here this evening) and printed in the journal of this Society, a journal in every way creditable to the scholarship of the country."¹

The young American scholar to whom Mr. Lowell alluded was Henry Alfred Todd, who more than fulfilled the hopes which his earlier works raised and whose untimely death we are still deploring. I say "untimely" purposely, for although he had lived the allotted years of human life he was still in his intellectual prime and his friends looked forward to a continued scholarly activity.

It is not my purpose to give in this appreciation of Professor Todd a detailed account of his life and services to American scholarship. That will come later when his colleagues and pupils unite in a fitting monument to his memory. It is sufficient to say here that Henry Alfred Todd was born at Woodstock, Illinois, March 13, 1854. He came of scholarly parentage and good family which showed itself in social graces. He took in 1876 his A.B. at Princeton University, where he was a fellow and tutor for four years. From 1880 to 1883 he studied abroad at Paris, Berlin, Rome and

¹ Mr. Lowell might have referred to a more remarkable thing in connection with this same "young American scholar." Six years before the meeting at Cambridge he had edited for the Société des Anciens Textes Français an Old French poem, *Le Dû de la Panthère d'Amours*. This was the first time, I believe, that an American scholar had received such striking recognition.

Madrid. He took his doctor's degree at Johns Hopkins University in 1885, and was instructor and associate there from 1883 to 1891. That last year he married Miss Miriam Gilman, daughter of John S. Gilman of Baltimore, and went to Leland Stanford Junior University as Professor of Romance Languages. He remained at Palo Alto for three years only when he was called to Columbia University in 1893 as Professor of Romance Philology. In that position he remained thirty-one years, until his sudden death in January, 1925.

It will be seen from the above data that Professor Todd's career was less nomadic than is usual with American scholars, and he was fortunate in his long and unbroken connection with one university where he could establish a tradition of scholarly activity. He was also happy in his proximity to his labors and in a domestic life which fostered his intellectual interests. His social gifts and amiable character made him sought by a great number of associations, learned as well as social, and enabled him to wield great influence for the promotion of scholarship and the advancement of the interests of the university with which he was so long and honorably connected.

Professor Todd also exerted great influence on American scholarship by his editorship (in conjunction with Professor Raymond Weeks and an advisory board) of the *ROMANIC REVIEW* from its foundation in 1910 until his death in 1925. How great and exacting is the labor of editing such a journal few know and appreciate, or how great an influence it may exert by its acceptance or rejection of contributions. The writer of this notice wishes to express here his grateful recognition of the hospitality which Professor Todd extended to him in the *REVIEW* almost from the beginning, and his constant encouragement of studies somewhat beyond the strict boundaries of philology.

There is a class of pathetic Roman funeral inscriptions which express the reversal of the natural order of things, as where the rites which a younger person should render the older are performed by the latter:

Filius facere quod debuerat patri
Mors iniqua intercessit filio fecit pater.

I had hoped that at some not distant day when I had finished my work my younger friend would speak a kindly word of me. But it was not to be and I can truly say

Te mihi junxerunt nivei sine crimine mores,
Simplicitasque sagax, ingenuusque pudor;
Et bene nota fides, et candor frontis honestae,
Et studia a studiis non aliena meis.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

T. F. CRANE

REVIEWS

F F Communications. Edited for the *Folklore Fellows* by Walter Anderson, Johannes Bolte, Kaarle Krohn, Knut Liestøl, C. W. von Sydow. Vols. XV-XVII, Nos. 51-55, Helsingfors, 1923-24.

In *THE ROMANIC REVIEW*, Vol. XIV (1923), pp. 319-324, ten numbers (42-50) of the *F F Communications* were reviewed. In little over a year ten numbers have been added to the precious series, containing new contributions of extraordinary value and interest, or continuations of works begun in earlier numbers. I shall begin with the latter.

Vol. XVII, No. 55, *Der Ackerbau im Volksaberglauben der Finnen und Esten, mit entsprechenden Gebräuchen der Germanen verglichen* (IV, von A. V. Rantasalo, Helsingfors, 1924, pp. 162). I have already reviewed at some length Parts I, II, III, in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, Vols. XI (1920), pp. 191-192; XIII (1922), pp. 276-278. In connection with the fourth part which has just appeared, I may say a few words as to the contents of the third part which consists of the superstitions attached to sowing and planting and to the festivals celebrated in the spring. The sower encircles the field three times, twice in the course of the sun, and once in the reverse direction, reciting the Lord's Prayer, and concluding it always with the words: "Deliver us from evil."¹ Certain objects supposed to possess magic powers are thrown over the field or buried in the ground. The seed, however, will not thrive unless, during the entire time of sowing and especially at the beginning of it, special ceremonies and precautions are observed. Festivals are held at which a porridge made of the grain is eaten in ceremonious fashion, or bread is baked in a big loaf, which is kept until the time of the festival and divided among the families. This bread is baked in the winter, at Christmas, and kept until seedtime. The loaf is stamped with various figures and is connected with religious beliefs and superstitions. Of special interest is the custom of pouring water over the sower and ploughman when they return home the first day of the planting. Sometimes water is poured over the oxen to keep them from being lazy. All over Germany this pouring of water over labourers, implements, teams, etc., is common. This magic use of water to keep the fields from drought is an interesting survival of early times.

The fourth part of Rantasalo's work is devoted to the witchcraft of agriculture: bewitching the crops of others; transferring the harvest from the field of another to one's own; destroying the crops on another's field; removing the witchcraft and the destroyers of the harvest; disenchantment of a field by encircling it and bringing charms; sacrificial customs used during the disenchantment of the field; revenge on the one who bewitches a field; and the protection of crops against thieves.

Particularly interesting are the various magical objects used for the above purposes. The field is bewitched by placing in it portions of a dead body, or earth from a grave, or shavings from the wood of a coffin, etc. Fishes are also employed for

¹ For a recent discussion of "Circumambulation" in Folklore, see Penxer's edition of Tawney's version of Somadeva's *Ocean of Story*, London, 1924, Vol. I, pp. 190 *et seq.* I may mention another valuable note in the same work, Vol. II, pp. 117-120, "Nudity in Magic Ritual." In the Finnish and other North European lands, the sower or magician encircles the fields naked. See Rantasalo, No. 31, p. 126.

the same purpose; a pike is buried in the third furrow; a frog is thrown over a hedge into the field to be destroyed; a live snake is also used in the same way. The same objects may also be employed to disenchant the field. The magician carries the magical objects around the field and finally buries them in the ground. As has already been seen, objects connected with the dead are especially efficacious: the soap with which a corpse has been washed; a piece of the cross on a grave; earth from the same; a splinter from the block on which a criminal has been beheaded; a cloth that has been spread over a corpse, etc.

We have seen above the use of fishes and frogs. To counteract the bewitching of a field, a frog is dragged around it by a red string and finally buried in the furrow. In Finland water drawn from some particular source is used to sprinkle the bewitched field. The water is sprinkled with a broom made of twigs, which connects this custom with the great group of usages for disenchanting the field, in which magical objects are taken from the trees of the forest, such as birchbark made into rolls, an aspen stick, etc. Very interesting are the customs connected with fire, and the objects which fire is supposed to render efficacious, such as ashes strewn over the field, etc. To disenchant the fields sacrificial rites of various kinds are performed. The milk of domestic animals, cows and sheep, is used in the same way. Human blood is also used as a sacrifice, and cats are killed and buried in the ground, or buried alive in the field. A coin is used in the same way.

The Finnish sorcerer is not satisfied with driving from the field the harmful spirits sent there by his enemies, and to restore the fertility of the land, but he wishes also to punish the evildoer, to take revenge on him. Illness or death must be sent upon him if he does not acknowledge his guilt and beg for pardon, or some misfortune must happen to him as punishment, *e.g.*, his eye put out by a twig in the forest in order that he may at once cease harming his neighbor's field by his magic arts.

We have seen above how a pike or a frog was used to disenchant a field. After that the frog is treated as one would like to treat the sorcerer. The frog's eyes are put out, or his legs broken, in the expectation that such things will happen to the sorcerer. The frog is treated with all sorts of cruelties and finally buried with imitation of the burial ceremonies of human beings. The pike is treated in the same way. These proceedings against the sorcerer are based upon the laws of sympathetic magic, and it is easy to find similar usages among widely distant peoples.

The last division of Rantasalo's work concerns the means of defending the crops against thieves. In Finland encircling the field three times, twice with the sun, and once in the opposite direction, is considered a defence against theft.² The one who encircles the field is provided with some magical charms which he usually deposits in the field after his third round. Among the magic objects which the Finnish defender of his beetfield employs against thieves are things taken from a dead person or which have been in close connection and contact with him. Such are a bone of a dead man, especially part of a skull, a hand of a prematurely born child, the left hand of a corpse, or a tooth from his mouth. Hairs from a dead man are very potent and are carried around the field. In addition to these parts of a dead man, are also employed, as has been seen above, objects which have been in close contact with the person of the dead: soap and water used to wash the corpse; straw on which a body has rested; a plank from a coffin; a cloth which has covered the face of a corpse; the stick with which a body has been measured (sometimes a live snake is fastened to it with red yarn and carried thrice around the field); sometimes the body is measured with a

² See note above on "Circumambulation."

string which is used in the same way; a coin from a dead man's mouth is also used; and a needle which has been in contact with a body. Among the other objects used to protect the field against thieves are: a plank from a coffin, or nails from the same, earth from a graveyard, etc. Objects from the animal kingdom are also used, as we have seen above, frogs, snakes, bats, a horse's head, etc.

Many of the customs of the Finns are found among the Germans also, and this brief review of the fourth part of Rantasalo's work will show its great value and interest for the student of the customs and superstitions of Northern Europe.

Among the *FF Communications* have been a number of monographs dealing with individual *märchen* and *schwänke*. To these has been added No. 54, *Die Legende von den zwei Erzsündern* von N. P. Andrejev (Helsingfors, 1924, pp. 136). The subject of the legend is briefly as follows. A great sinner repents and is commanded to perform an impossible penance. He kills another greater sinner, whereupon his sins are forgiven, as is shown by the accomplishment of the penance. There are forty-nine oral variants (fifteen Ukrainian, nine Great Russian, four White Russian, ten Serbian, four Bulgarian, three Finnish, one Rumanian, one Armenian, one Arabian, and one Tatar), besides five literary versions. Andrejev gives the variants of the legend and analyzes their texts. He then examines the versions of the legend and their relations to each other and the fate of the legend. It lives in the mouths of the people; the dead form to which the variants have been reduced as to their contents has been clothed, as Andrejev says (p. 86), with flesh and blood. Each people, each narrator even, introduces into the story something of their own, whereby perhaps not even once do they create anything really new, but only combine in their own way the old which they have taken partly from real life, partly from the treasures of folk tradition which they had at hand.

Andrejev next considers the origin of the legend and says (p. 87) that there are no parallels, as a whole, to be found in the older literature. The modern literary versions of Tolstoj, Kuprin, Novikov and Kozenikaja cannot under any circumstances be regarded as the source of the oral variants examined above. Some individual motifs have a number of parallels (especially the dry stick or rod that becomes green and blossoms, Grimm No. 206, *Die drei grünen Zweige*). These Andrejev now proceeds to examine and sums up his results in twelve points (pp. 116-119), the most important of which are: the legend is found in Southeastern and Eastern Europe, as well as in Anterior Asia (Caucasus and Palestine). The home of the legend must be considered to be the Slavic South (Bulgaria). The legend came from there to the Ukrain. From the Slavic South the legend penetrated to the Rumanians and Kasan Tatars, from Little Russia and Great Russia to White Russia, from Great Russia to the Finns.

The only versions accessible to the student unacquainted with Russian and Finnish are to be found in F. S. Krauss, *Tausend Sagen und Märchen der Sudslaven* (Leipzig, 1914, Vol. I, No. 18, pp. 64 *et seq.*) and in H. Schmidt and P. Kahle, *Völkerrählungen aus Palästina* (Göttingen, 1918, No. 61, pp. 244 *et seq.*). Andrejev's monograph introduces the Western student to a most interesting and little known story and shows the wealth of material awaiting the investigator in Eastern Europe. It is appalling to think what his linguistic preparation must be. To the ordinarily equipped scholar such monographs as Andrejev's are a great boon.

The three remaining numbers, 51, 52, 53, deal with literary and traditional problems of the North. The first, *Novellistische Darstellung Mythologischer Stoffe Snorris und seiner Schule*, von E. Mogk (Helsingfors, 1923, pp. 33), contains a brief and interesting discussion of Snorri's treatment of his mythological materials. The

author says that since the investigations of H. Petersen and S. Bugge of the sources of Germanic mythology much has dropped out that was earlier considered the property of the Germanic or, at least, of the Northern, peoples. In early times one of the most important, perhaps the most important, sources of German mythology was the *Snorra-Edda*, which repeatedly led to the entire construction of textbooks. What was found in it was explained as the property of the heathen folk or at least as poetical production from heathen times. Mogk proposes by some examples, especially by the myths of the warfare of the "Vánen," and of the origin of "the mead of the poets," to refute this conception and to show how in Reykjaholt under Snorri's leadership a new style of poetry arose which can be designated as mythological novel. Of great interest is Mogk's sketch of the literary cultivation of Iceland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. During this time the island was entirely under the influence of Western culture and civilization, and there was an active intellectual intercourse with England and Ireland, Germany and France. The first bishops of the island received their education in Germany and brought with them the learning which there prevailed. Other bishops spent much time in Paris. With Western learning came the works of classical and mediaeval literature and aroused a new creative activity. Schools after the Western pattern were founded in Iceland. In the twelfth century we find all possible writings of the Western world. Besides the ecclesiastical writers, Pliny, Horace, Ovid, and Sallust were known. This classical and mediaeval-Western literature was associated with their own past, the rich poetry of the Skalds and the numerous Sagas, which for centuries were transmitted by oral tradition. The interest in these was freshly awakened by Saemund and Ari, and in the school at Oddi the efforts to unite the native literature with the foreign, the popular with the learned, found its centre. Here Snorri spent his youth and received his education under Saemund and other of the wisest and most intelligent men of his time.

Although Snorri was aided by others in the composition of his works, he had the chief share in them, and in this sense he may be regarded as the author of the *Edda* and *Heimskringla*, and perhaps of several sagas, especially of the Egils saga. Mogk considers as the chief source of the *Edda* and *Heimskringla* the oral tradition of olden times together with earlier written records. Snorri was the creator of a new style of poetry, the mythological novel. He was not only a reproductive spirit, but a creative one; he wished not only to elucidate but to point out new paths, new possibilities. These mythological stories are an excellent evidence of Snorri's talent as a story teller, which is shown also in his historical works. He understands how to form a whole out of the most diversified sources, and to bind together the separate parts which have nothing to do with each other and to bring them into causal relation. The remainder of Mogk's essay is taken up with illustrations of Snorri's treatment of novellistic themes in his work. Mogk concludes his most interesting work with these words: "Snorri has certainly drawn much from old sources, but he has handled these freely and added much, bringing into causal relation independent ancient accounts. Under his guidance there arose in the prose stories from the old world of the gods a peculiar northern poetry in the first half of the thirteenth century, which constitutes a branch of the mediaeval literature in its golden age, as it, about and after 1200, was established in almost the entire Western world. And just as we do not place the *Nibelungenlied* and the *Dietrichsagen* in the time of the migration of nations, so too we must not conceive Snorri's stories, as they before us, as heathen myths or the property of the sagas. We must examine them from their sources, as far as such exist, but we must not, as has hitherto been done, interpret with their help the ancient evidences."

The two remaining numbers, 52 and 53, are by Kaarle Krohn and relate to the

literature and folklore of Finland. The first, *Kalevalastudien*, von Kaarle Krohn (I. Einleitung. Helsingfors, 1924, pp. 148), is an introduction to the study of the *Kalevala* with a bibliography of the works relating thereto. The story of the study of the popular poetry of the Finns is a fascinating one, going back to the first mention of the Finnish folksong by Michael Agricola in 1551, and since then involving the most famous scholars of Europe. It is a story of self-sacrificing scholarship and devoted patriotism. The golden age of *Kalevala* investigation begins with Elias Lönnrot in 1827, and is illustrious by names like Grimm, Comparetti, the two Krohns, father and son, and a host of others. The student will find discussed in Krohn's introduction the history of the collection of the *Kalevala* variants, the nature of the runes, the diffusion of the poem, etc. It was in the course of the collection of materials that was developed by Julius Krohn the method of folklore study known by his name or simply termed the Finnish method, thus defined by his son (p. 59 of the work under consideration): "The folklore method of Julius Krohn, also termed the Finnish method, is based upon two facts, the dependence of the various forms of a poem on the geographical position of the locality of the song, and upon the migration of the songs from place to place. Each locality has its more or less characteristic style or manner of song, which in general varies according to nearness or distance. From this fact it is generally possible to fix older versions whose locality is lacking exactly to their village and to the family of singers."

Closely connected with some of the features of the above number is another work by the same author: No. 52, *Magische Ursprungsrunden der Finnen* (Helsingfors, 1924, pp. 307). The Finns have preserved a rich treasure of old runic poetry, epic as well as lyric. By the side of these a third class has arisen, that of the magic runes, to which correspond elsewhere in Europe the magic spells or incantations which have received little poetical development. The magic runes can be epic as well as lyrical, so far as their contents is concerned. The latter can give expression in the first person, sometimes to a haughty, sometimes to a meek, mood. Further, a second person can be addressed either in the form of command, threat, adjuration, or also of entreaty. Epic *motifs* usually appear in the Finnish magic runes in the form of narratives of origins of things. An attempt has been made to bring these runes of origins into connection with the Schamamism of the Finnish-Ugrian peoples. This theory is rejected by Krohn who sees in them the property of the Karelian race, especially of its northern branch. Then follow a great number of narratives of the origins of things, men, animals, etc. These Krohn classifies as follows: origin of the snake, of trees, stones and iron, of water, of fire and cold, of diseases, of animals and men, and of remedies.

Krohn's conclusions as to the home and date of these runes are given at length on pp. 284-302. He considers the poetic form of the runes of the origins of things peculiar to the Finns, and specifically Savolaxian. The date is fixed by the fact that most of the runes of this class bear the stamp of Catholic times.

This work of Krohn's again shows what an immense field of study is awaiting Western scholars. It has been the function of the *FF Communications* to make this field more widely known and to indicate treasures of materials and methods for their study.

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Nouveau Petit Larousse Illustré, New York, 1925; *Larousse Universel*, *Petit Larousse Illustré*, New York, 1924.

The third revised French dictionary issued by Larousse since the war is the *Nouveau Petit Larousse Illustré*, December, 1924. First, a partial revision of the *Petit Larousse Illustré* was attempted in 1921, which included words like "tank," and made a few changes in maps (see review by C. E. Young, *Philological Quarterly*, 1923, p. 78). This was the edition which D. C. Heath & Co. published in America in 1924. Then, by 1923, the two-volume *Larousse Pour Tous* was practically rewritten. The revised edition, now called *Larousse Universel*, has as a new feature 112 rotogravure pages, reproducing some 650 paintings. To show the character of the *Larousse Universel*, I may say that it includes the words "autocar," "aspirateur," a plate explaining the technique and vocabulary of the movies, e.g., "tourner un film" (to take a film), "dancing" (pronounced *dan'sin'gh*), defined as "lieu où l'on danse"; "poste" (m), meaning a telegraph or telephone instrument. The Ruhr is mentioned, to be pronounced *rour*, as in German. Most common argot words are given by the *Larousse Universel*.

The *Nouveau Petit Larousse Illustré* is based upon the revised *Larousse Universel*. Compared with the 1921 *Petit Larousse*, it has 1760 pages as against 1680, with 51 dictionary entries under Y and 189 under Z, as compared with 24 and 155 respectively in the earlier edition. Some of the words and definitions now found for the first time in a *Petit Larousse* are "filmer," "interallié," "photogénique" defined as "qui se prête bien aux projections cinématographiques, visage photogénique," "radio-téléphonie," "receveur" defined as a collector of fares in a public vehicle, "vélo," with derivatives "véloceman, vélocewoman," "zwanze" (Belgian), and scientific terms like "zymohydroline." All these words appeared in the *Larousse Universel*, but the abridgment omits "aspirateur" and "dancing." Parenthetically, this word is now being used for a vanity-case. Foreigners will regret the exclusion of argot from the *Nouveau Petit Larousse*. None of these dictionaries gives a place to "machiniste" as the current name for a bus driver, although the word is posted up everywhere in Paris.

The *Nouveau Petit Larousse Illustré* has rotogravure plates illustrating 83 paintings. Its illustrations have been revised, and the biographical and historical portion much enlarged, including such names as the late Claude Augé, Debussy, L. Guitry, Guynemer, D. Haig, Thos. Hardy, J. Laforgue, Pickwick Club (les Papiers du), Mark Twain, and Tut-ank-ammon. However, the pronunciation of proper names is not systematically indicated in the Larousse dictionaries. If indicated for Mendès and Proust, it is omitted for Stendhal. In this revision, maps have been drawn for the new countries of Europe, and other alterations have been introduced. Thus the new map of France shows Alsace and Lorraine divided into the departments of Moselle, Bas-Rhin and Haut-Rhin, not indicated in the 1921 revision. Heath's 1925 edition of the *Nouveau Petit Larousse Illustré* is dearer but better bound.

Librarians and students of French will find it really profitable to replace their old dictionaries with a *Larousse Universel* or a *Nouveau Petit Larousse Illustré*.

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The Latinity of the "Liber Historiae Francorum." A phonological, morphological and syntactical study. By Pauline Taylor. New York, 1924, 143 pp.

The book bearing the above title is the result of a phonological, morphological and syntactical study based upon an examination of the *Liber Historiae Francorum*

in close connection with the *Historia Francorum* of Gregory and the work of Fredegarius bearing a similar title; this is of the utmost importance inasmuch as it illustrates the trend of linguistic development with historical accurateness.

The collection of examples of various linguistic phenomena has served as a basis for the deduction made regarding the deviation from classical Latin forms. The results of this investigation are presented briefly as follows: From a comparison of the phonology of the *Historia Francorum* of Gregory with the phonology of the *Historia* of Fredegarius and of the *Liber*, one important fact stands out, viz., the phonology of the *Liber* represents a more conservative tendency than that of either Gregory or Fredegarius. This is illustrated, for example, in the absence of "umgekehrte Schreibung," and in the uniform orthography for proper names. In general, a more definite trend toward uniform spelling is evident as compared with the sixth and seventh century documents.

Under the heading "Phonology," the author treats of vowel and consonant changes. Vowel changes in the *Liber* are few but significant: *ae* > *e*; the contrary rarely appears (absence of "umgekehrte Schreibung"). Syncope in proper names develops systematically. There are few changes in word-endings except in two instances: the substitution of the active infinitive forms for the passive, and the use of forms ending in *-o*, *-e*, *-a* in genitive, dative, accusative and ablative functions.

The consonant changes are fewer still. They consist of the vocalization of intervocalic *g*, the assimilation of *ti* (*ci*), the recomposition of a preposition and its connected word. They are not so much changes as they are manifestations of more frequently recurring phenomena. The most important is the presence of the final *-m* in all but flexional endings; this has a fundamental bearing on the theory of the substitution of *-o* for *-um* treated in the study on syntax.

The morphological study covers a consideration of the use of the declension, gender, pronoun and verb in the *Liber*. Deviations from the Classic forms are stated as being infrequent, the most noteworthy changes lying in the interchange of passive and active verb forms, and the use of one relative form in many functions. Under declensions are found single instances of a substitution of the third declension for the second and vice versa, also of the fourth for the second; the most essential feature is the retention of the *-is* in the genitive singular and nominative plural of the *-us* ending, the contracted form never occurring. The contrary is characteristic of the *Historia* of Gregory. As regards gender, the change from the neuter plural to the feminine singular is fluctuating in the *Liber*. Under pronouns the use of *quod* as a substitute for other forms (i.e., *qua*, *quam*, *quo*) is the most significant change. Bonnet is mentioned as having stated the same with reference to Gregory. With the exception of five verbs, the conjugations are employed correctly in the *Liber*. A confusion of tenses is rare. Syncopated forms of the perfect stems occur, although in the minority. Recomposition is, on the other hand, of frequent occurrence in the *Liber*, as in other Folk Latin documents. The passive voice in the *Liber* with one exception, the present passive infinitive, remains practically intact. This is true also of other Folk Latin documents of the pre-Carolingian period. The almost total absence of the passive infinitive form in the *Liber* (only five examples can be cited from among 200) is regarded as an indication of the disintegration of the passive voice.

The third part of this study, which forms the syntactical examination of the *Liber*, offers four outstanding deviations from classical Latin: 1, The absence of certain pronominal forms and the frequency of others; 2, The use of one case in the function of several; 3, The substitution of one pronoun for another; 4, The use of *quod* clauses to replace classical infinitive constructions.

In the exposé of the use of one case in the function of several, the oblique case, (the discussion of which is believed by the author to be the most significant contribution to the understanding of Pre-Romance Latin), Meyer-Lübke is cited. In his presentation of the same subject he gives a list of divided opinions which mostly favor Diez' theory that the accusative served as a basis for the Romance substantive. In opposition to him stand d'Ovidio and Ascoli who hold different views. Meyer-Lübke is quoted in regard to the former: "L'auteur cherche à montrer que *servo*, p. ex., ne renferme pas un cas unique, mais plutôt les formes latines du nom. *servus*, des dat. et abl. *servo*, de l'acc. *servum*; que *servi* représente le nom. *servi*, les dat. et abl. *servis*, et que, devant leur supériorité numérique, le gén. *servi* au sing., l'acc. *servos* au pluriel auraient dû quitter la place."

Meyer-Lübke states further: "On peut donc voir avec certitude dans le nom. et l'accus. les cas normaux du roman." But deductions based upon the facts gathered from the *Liber* lead the author of the "*Latinity*" to the inevitable disapproval of the current theory of Diez, Meyer-Lübke, Grandgent, etc., that the accusative served as the basis of the oblique case of Old French and Provençal and the later single Romance case. The author remarks that "a form ending either in *-a*, *-o*, or *-e* has developed by the side of the Classic genitive, dative, accusative and ablative forms, a form which has assumed the functions of these Classic oblique cases, and which later replaced them exclusively; a case, again we insist, with a form ending in *-o*, *-e* or *-a*, not *-um*, *-em* or *-am*, served as a basis of the later Old French and Provençal oblique cases, eventually being substituted for the nominative and producing the single Romance case."

Accordingly, then, in the eighth century, the oblique case with the endings *-o*, *-e* (plur. *-is*) was being used with and instead of all cases (except the nominative). The regular classical forms were still in the majority functioning; classical accusative endings are found to be by no means extinct in the *Liber*, indeed, forms ending in *-am*, *-em* and *-um* for the accusative governed by verbs occur five times as frequently as the forms ending in *-o*, *-e* and *-a* in the accusative function. But although these classical endings regularly occur in the *Liber*, forms ending in *-o*, *-e* and *-a* are substituted nearly 200 times for these classical forms, whereas the forms ending in *-um*, *-em* and *-am* are found only fifteen times in irregular functions.

The ratio 5 to 1 in the use of the classical accusative and oblique cases is said to be all the more remarkable because in comparison with the corresponding texts of Gregory and Fredegarius the phonetic errors in the *Liber* are rare. "This constant use of *-o* for *-um*, etc.," says the author, "which had a phonological origin, has now become a deep-seated syntactical usage. In the 8th century a Frank would say: *misit gladio* and *misit gladium*, expressing each time the same idea. He did not drop the *-m* from *gladium*, but he used another form, the oblique form, which in his mind functioned as an accusative." From this follows that the author believes the final *-m* to have been pronounced in the 8th century, i.e., that the accusative functioned side by side with the oblique case. Examples are given in which the phenomenon occurs. "*Principium regum Francorum eorumque origine . . . —proferamus*," etc.

The results obtained by D'Arbois and Bonnet confirm the conclusion of the author of the *Latinity*. Haag is said to interpret these phenomena phonologically; Muller-Marquardt attributes the incorrect retention or omission of *-m* in flexional endings to "Sorglosigkeit," and Slycer is quoted ". . . factum est ut accusativus et ablativus inter se non distinguantur." Examples of the substitution of the genitive for the accusative and oblique cases are given; they coincide with examples from Gregory and Fredegarius that the oblique form assumed a genitive function between

the sixth and eighth centuries. In the case of the dative, the oblique case functions in all instances where the dative would normally be used. The *Liber* offers only one instance of the accusative in the function of the dative. Confusions are said to be present in other Folk Latin documents. As for the plural, *-is* is the ending of the oblique form for the accusative. The examples in the *Liber* being few, the author feels unjustified in generalizing, but can state this: that in comparison with like phenomena in other texts there is no progress, though an attempt at unification is seen from an examination of various documents, a tendency toward the use of the ending *-is*. No examples appear in Gregory, but rather frequently in Fredegarius.

As for determinatives, "a noticeable paucity of certain forms of demonstrative and personal pronouns and a prevalence of others is characteristic of the *Liber*; *ille*, *illa* and *illud* have become the masculine and feminine pronouns of the third person; their neuter equivalents are *hoc* and *haec* and their oblique cases are expressed for the most part by the personal pronoun *is*. There are few cases of the exchange of one pronoun for another, with the exception of *ipse* which becomes a substitute for *ille*, *hic*, *is* and *iste*. These results are said to coincide with those drawn from Gregory and Fredegarius.

The use of the verb in the *Liber* coincides strikingly with that of other post-classical documents; the examples cited illustrate little progress in a change from Merovingian documents if, indeed, as much: 1, The past participle plus *habere* (in which the meaning of a true compound tense seems to exist) is found, though in single instances only; 2, *Fui* and *fuisset* are seen frequently for *eram* and *esset*, both in deponents and in the passive voice; 3, Present tenses are used in conjunction with past tenses to state historical events; 4, The use of the infinitive instead of an *ut* clause to express purpose is common as in other Folk Latin documents; 5, *Cum* and *dum* are frequently interchanged in the *Liber*; 6, The use of an infinitive phrase as a substitution for a *quod* clause appears often, etc. (This also is a regular substitution in post-classical Latin.) The *Liber* is nearer the classical usage in the retention of the subjunctive in indirect questions. In other Folk Latin documents both indicative and subjunctive are found.

In concluding, the author emphasizes the unusual consistency in the form and use of words, a regular development in one direction with few vacillations, few "umgekehrte Schreibungen." The discussion of the oblique case which forms the *point d'appui* of the dissertation represents an important step taken in the study of this problem, and it is to be hoped that future investigations undertaken in a similar spirit will lead to conclusions of considerable importance in the field of Romance Philology.

BRUNHILDE FITZ-RANDOLPH

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Geschichte des neueren Dramas von Wilhelm Creizenach. Dritter Band. Renaissance und Reformation, zweiter Teil. Zweite, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage bearbeitet und mit einem vollständigen Register zum zweiten und dritten Band versehen von Adalbert Hämel, A. O. Professor der romanischen Philologie an der Universität Würzburg. Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1923.

When Creizenach died in May 1919, the revision of his epoch-making *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* had reached only the second volume, published in 1918 with the addition of the chapter devoted to France, which formed part of the third volume in the first edition. Fortunately his work has been continued by so capable a scholar as

Professor Hämel, who has added to the new material collected by Creizenach the results of his own studies in the European drama. In view of the restricted scope of the ROMANIC REVIEW, we are concerned here only with the sixth and seventh books of the third volume, devoted to the Spanish and Portuguese drama.

A revision often involves certain obligations, and in deference to the author and for the sake of uniformity with the other volumes, Professor Hämel has followed closely the plan of the original work. The scope of the study remains unchanged: namely, from Encina to approximately the year 1570. The immediate predecessors of Lope de Vega are not included. In the discussion of authors, the *Celestina* is properly given an earlier place, immediately preceding Torres Naharro, while the latter's imitators are studied in the section that immediately follows. Doubtless limitations of space precluded mention of all the extant plays of that period, but it is not easy to explain omission of the *Farsa sacramental* of López de Yanguas, the earliest known play of its kind in Spanish, the same author's *Egloga en loor de la natividad de nuestro Señor*, and *Farsa sobre la felice nueva de la concordia*, Luis Milán's *Farsa*, etc. Neither the classification by type nor that by chronology is wholly consistent.

The results of the chief publications since 1903 have been incorporated in the revision, and the editor's own researches have borne fruit in many new facts and critical estimates. The most notable feature is the emphasis upon the parallel development of the Spanish and Italian drama in the sixteenth century. For many years the earlier version has been considered indispensable to students of the Spanish drama, and in its revised form it will continue to be an authoritative guide.

I have noted a few statements that seem to require correction. The *Egloga interlocutoria* of Diego de Avila (p. 9) has certain features in common with the Italian *Mogliassi*, but in my opinion it has a closer relationship with a group that may be styled betrothal and wedding plays, based upon Spanish popular customs.—The author of the *Farsa Ardamisa* is Negueruela, not Neguerela (p. 36).—A collection of five *Autos sacramentales* of the year 1590 preserved at the National Library of Madrid is cited from Gallardo (p. 52). The manuscript contains twelve plays and is described in the Salvá Catalogue, vol. i, p. 366. It is stated that probably all the plays of the Rouanet collection were designed for representation on Corpus Christi day (p. 52). We know that the *Auto de la resurrección de Christo* (lx) was performed at Easter, 1578, and there is some evidence that others were presented at the same festival.—The influence of Italy on the development of the *entremés* (p. 82) seems to me over-emphasized. I believe that the early development of the *entremés* was independent of Italy. (See W. S. Jack's article in *Publications of the M. L. A.*, vol. xxxvii, 1922).—Cervantes did not include a portion of Rueda's *Coloquio llamado las Prendas de amor* in his *Baños de Argel* (p. 84). Cervantes simply refers to it as a *coloquio en verso*, and it may possibly be identified as the *Coloquio llamado Gila*, as suggested by Schevill and Bonilla in vol. i, p. 380 of their edition of the comedies and *entremeses* of Cervantes.—Mention should be made (p. 84) that the *Comedia* of Sepúlveda is a free adaptation of Parabosco's *Il Viluppo*, and that the prologue contains the earliest recorded use of the word *entremés* as referring to a dramatic genre.—The article by Espinosa Maeso (*Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 1921) on Encina's early life and his relations with Lucas Fernández apparently appeared too late for its results to be included in this study.

With the exception of a few changes and additions in the study of Gil Vicente, the book devoted to the Portuguese drama stands substantially the same as in the earlier edition. It is regrettable that Professor Hämel's work was already in press

before the appearance of the notable volume of Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos entitled *Autos portugueses de Gil Vicente y de la escuela vicentina*, which presents, with a learned introduction, facsimile texts of nineteen bibliographical rarities. Six of these plays were entirely unknown, five were known only by title, and certain authors, such as João de Escovar, Antonio de Lisboa and Sebastião Pires, are now more than a name to us. This volume will serve to supplement Professor Hämel's account of Vicente and his school.

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Obras completas de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Comedias y entremeses, tomo VI (Introducción, Poesías sueltas). Edición publicada por Rodolfo Schevill y Adolfo Bonilla. Madrid, MCMXXII.

The present volume, containing a general study of the dramatic compositions of Cervantes, justifies the high expectations of its value which were founded upon the excellent editorial work in the five earlier volumes of the Schevill-Bonilla edition. The most original contribution of the editors is the convincing argument that the eight comedies published in 1615 represent revisions of plays written in the first period of Cervantes' dramatic activity, as well as later compositions. On the basis of internal evidence it may now be accepted that to the first "fórmula estética" (1582-1587) belong *La casa de los celos*, which the editors agree with Cotarelo y Valledor in identifying as *El bosque amoroso* mentioned in the *Adjunta al Parnaso*; *Los baños de Argel*; and *El laberinto de amor*, which may probably be identified as *La confusa*, for the composition of which Cervantes signed a contract in 1585. Approximate dates are also assigned for the composition of the other comedies and the *entremeses* published in 1615. The study of the sources of the plays brings to light many new facts; and the influence of the author's immediate predecessors is presented more clearly than has hitherto been attempted. This volume, which will be indispensable for students of the works of Cervantes and of the sixteenth century drama, also contains outlines of the metrical forms used in the comedies and *entremeses*, and a reprint of the *Poesías sueltas* gathered from rare books and manuscripts.

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INSTITUTO DE LAS ESPANAS

NOTES AND NEWS

During the past year the *Instituto* has cooperated with the Extension Department of Columbia University in giving four important lectures. The first three of this series, "The Place of Romance Languages in the Life of Today" by Mr. P. M. Riccio, "Recent Impressions of Spain" by Mr. R. H. Williams, and "Hispanic Influence in American Life and Culture" by Professor William R. Shepherd, have been mentioned previously in this column. On the afternoon of April 27, Señora Isabel de Palencia spoke to a large audience in the McMillin Academic Theatre on "Spanish Regional Costumes." Her address was illustrated by stereopticon views; and, in addition, Señora Palencia herself appeared in many of the costumes, in this way giving a correct and vivid impression of the regional dress of Spain.

A delightful *velada literaria* dedicated to the "Nueva literatura de España" took place Monday evening, May 11. Professor Onís presided, and in his introductory remarks spoke of the latest developments in Spanish literature. The well-known poet Leon Felipe read a number of his own compositions and Srta. Matilde Huici of the Centro de Estudios Históricos of Madrid and at present on the Editorial Staff of *La Prensa* of New York spoke on José Ortega y Gasset.

The last meeting for the year of the local Undergraduate Club of the *Instituto* was in the form of a dinner on Saturday evening, May 16. The pleasant social occasion was attended by a number of members of the Club and representatives from the Spanish faculty.

This year twenty-six affiliated clubs in high schools and colleges widely distributed throughout the country have awarded the Cervantes medal for excellence in Spanish. The increasing activities of the affiliated clubs is one of the most encouraging phases of our work.

Our librarian, Mr. Dillwyn Ratcliff, is busily engaged at present cataloguing some recent requisitions which he hopes to have ready for the use of the members in the autumn.

It is requested that any members of the *Instituto* who have not received the January-March and the April-June numbers of the ROMANIC REVIEW write immediately to the General Secretary to that effect. All members should also have received the *Filosofía del Derecho* by Mariano Aramburo.

During the first four years of the existence of the *Instituto* many plans and experiments were tried out to determine the real field for the activities of such an organization, all of which entailed the expenditure of much time and energy. At present it seems as though this period of experimentation is about passed and that now the *Instituto* has established for itself a definite place in the field of Hispanic endeavours and that its energies are being spent to real advantage and mutual profit. The success thus far has been due to the active participation of the members of the Executive Council and to the General Secretary in particular.

Financial Statement, 1924-1925

<i>Disbursements</i>		Balance on hand May 31, 1924. \$ 179.43	
Expense on books shipped to			
Spain.....	\$ 124.25		
Subscriptions to the ROMANIC			
REVIEW.....	256.00		
Refunds and Royalties.....	522.29		
Medals.....	62.50		
Printing.....	95.00		
Postage, addressing and other			
miscellaneous expenses.....	83.94		
Total.....	\$1143.98		
		<i>Receipts</i>	
		1 sustaining member.....	25.00
		100 active members.....	500.00
		25 affiliated clubs (\$5.00 each) ..	125.00
		9 affiliated clubs (\$3.00 each) ..	27.00
		1 affiliated club (\$6.00 each) ...	6.00
		Income from sale of publica-	
		tions and other sources.....	347.36
		Total.....	\$1209.79
		Less Expenditures.....	1143.98
		Balance on hand May 31, 1925. \$	65.81

FRANK CALLCOTT,
Editor, Publications

BRIEF NEWS

JACQUES RIVIÈRE, born in Bordeaux in 1886, Secretary of the *Nouvelle Revue Française* in 1909 and Director in 1919, died on February 14, from typhoid fever. (On Jacques Rivière see April 1 number of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*.) FRANCE AND SPAIN.—l'Institut des études hispaniques de l'Université de Paris will give a prize for the best essay written by Spaniards or Frenchmen on the following subject: "L'état actuel des relations intellectuelles entre la France et l'Espagne et les moyens pratiques de les développer." EUROPAISCHE REVUE.—Prince Charles-Antoine de Rohan has founded this new Revue in which will be published articles on European literary and artistic movements. AUTODIDACTES.—L'Union des écrivains autodidactes, newly formed in Toulouse, will group self-taught writers. This new organization will publish the *Revue des Autodidactes*. LOUIS CHADOURNE, born in 1890, died from the consequences of shell shock. He was buried at Brives-la-Gaillarde on March 20. Louis Chadourne is the author of *Le Maître du navire*, *L'inquiète adolescence*, *Le Pot au noir*, *Terre de Chanaan*. See B. Crémieux's articles in the *Nouvelle Revue Française*, May 1, and in *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, March 28. "C'est de la disproportion entre l'aspiration de l'âme et la médiocrité du désir assouvi à travers les sens qu'il éprouve le plus de souffrance. . . . Le conflit chrétien entre la pureté et l'impureté de la nature humaine est au fond de toute son oeuvre" (B. Crémieux). Professors STROWSKI and BÉDIER are members of a Committee formed to help the general reader to select from the enormous literary output of our days such books as will be representative of the evolution of French art and thought. On March 28, the Committee decided to recommend the following books: (a) Claude Farrère & P. de Chack: *Combats et batailles sur mer*. (b) Gaston Chérau: *Le flambeau des Riffault*. (c) Charles de Borden: *Un cadet de Béarn*. (d) Tristan Derème: *L'Enlèvement sans clair de lune*. (e) Jacques Roujon: *Les opinions d'Anatole France*. (f) Pierre Lasnerre: *La Jeunesse d'Ernest Renan*. (g) Pierre Champion: *Ronsard et son temps*. M. JUSSERAND, ex-Ambassador of France to the United States, has been made a member of the Académie des Sciences morales et politiques. M. LOUIS MERCIER, the author of *Petites Géorgiques*, has received the Claire-Virenque prize at the concours de littérature spiritualiste. M. EDOUARD ESTAUNIÉ was officially received as a new member of the Académie française on April 2. ALFRED DE TARDE, born in Sarlat in 1880, died on April 3. In collaboration with H. Massis he wrote *L'Esprit de la nouvelle Sorbonne* (1912) and *Les jeunes gens d'aujourd'hui* (1913) under the pseudonym of Agathon. LES JEUX SILVESTRES DE FONTAINEBLEAU; such is the name of a new literary competition established by the Fontainebleau Municipality. FRANCIS CARCO has sold his collection of pictures and ANDRÉ GIDE has sold at an auction the books of those of his former friends with whom he is now on bad terms. He sold also the first copies of his first books. These had become scarce on the market: "A quoi bon les garder dans une armoire d'où je ne les sortais jamais? Ils pourront amuser quelques bibliophiles mieux capables que moi de les apprécier," says M. Gide. The poet NOËL RUET, author of *Le Musicien du cœur*, has been awarded the Verhaeren prize by the Comité des Amis de Cautelle Mendés.

RENÉ VAILLANT

BARNARD COLLEGE

BOOK LISTS

FRENCH

I. POETRY

March

- ALGOL (Laurent d'), *Aux temps méditerranéens*. 8 fr. Aux Edit. ass.
CALONNE (Bertha Galeron de), *Dans ma nuit*. 6 fr. Les Gêmeaux.
COCTEAU (Jean), *Poésies (1916-1923)*. 12 fr. Nouv. Rev. Fr.
GUSTINE (Gilberte), *La Guirlande des heures*. 5 fr. A. Messein.
HEIM (Maurice), *Le Chacal de minuit*. 6 fr. R. Chiberre.
MONIS (Charles), *L'Âme et son parfum*. 5 fr. R. Chiberre.
REVEILLAUD (Eug.), *Poèmes messianiques*. 7 fr. 50. Berger Levrault.
REVEILLAUD (Eug.), *Poèmes prophétiques*. 7 fr. 50. Berger Levrault.
SIGRAD (Gaspard), *Nos amies*. 6 fr. R. Chiberre.
THEOZYNE, *L'Eternelle étreinte*. 8 fr. Messein.

April

- DROMART (M.-L.), *Le Bel Été*. 7 fr. Perrin.
GARNIER (A.-P.), *Les Saintes Gardiennes*. 15 fr. Garnier frères.
GOLL (Yvan et Claire), *Poèmes d'amour*. 5 fr. Budry.
JALABERT (Pierre), *Parmi les roses des légendes*. 6 fr. Garnier.
LORY (J.-S. de), *Sonnets fragiles*. 6 fr. A. Lemerre.
PIZE (Louis), *Les Muses champêtres*. 6 fr. Garnier.
SEGUIN (Hélène), *La tendre effigie*. 6 fr. Lemerre.
TAILLADE (Laurent), *Poésies posthumes*. 6 fr. Messein.

May (1)

- ALIBERT (François-Paul), *La Guirlande lyrique*. 20 fr. Garnier.
FERET (Ch. T.), *La Barque de cuir*. 20 fr. Garnier.
GHELDERODE (Michel de), *La Corne d'abondance*. 5 fr. La Vache Rose. Bruxelles.

II. NOVELS AND SHORT STORIES

March

- ARAGONES, *La Loi du faible*. 6 fr. 75. Callmann-Levy.
AUFUUVRE (Louis), *L'Envoûtement*. 7 fr. 50. Aux Editeurs associés.
BARRIAS (Daniel), *Jérôme Bruchin, cul-de-jatte*. 7 fr. 50. Ferenczi & Fils.
BAUGÉ (Alphonse), *Messieurs les coureurs*. 5 fr. Garnier.
BENOIT (Pierre), *Le puits de Jacob*. 7 fr. 50. A. Michel.
BIENAIMÉ (Pierre), *Tu aimeras*. 7 fr. 50. Aux Editeurs associés.
BORDE (Louis), *L'Usure*. 7 fr. 50. Edit. du Raisin.
BOURGET (Paul), *Tragiques remous*. 2 fr. 50. A. Fayard.
CANUDO, *L'Escalier des sept femmes*. 12 fr. Ferenczi & Fils.

Only important new editions and reprints are included.

- CENDRAS (Blaise), *L'Or*. 7 fr. 50. Grasset.
- DEBERLY (Henri), *L'Ennemi des siens*. 7 fr. 50. Nouv. Rev. Fr.
- DELACOUR (André), *Le Loup et le chien*. 7 fr. 50. Bloud & Gay.
- DERÈME (Tristan), *L'Enlèvement sans clair de lune*. . . . 7 fr. 50. Emile-Paul Frères
- DERENNES (Charles), *Gaby, mon amour*. 7 fr. 50. A. Michel.
- DEVALDÈS (Manuel), *Contes d'un rebelle*. 5 fr. Edit. de l'idée libre.
- DOMBRE (Roger), *La maison sans fenêtres*. 3 fr. 50. Gautier.
- DORVAL (Jean), *L'éternelle conquérante*. 8 fr. Beauchesne.
- DUCHÈNE (Ferdinand), *Les Barbaresques*. 7 fr. 50. A. Michel.
- DUPLAY (Maurice), *Nos médecins*. 7 fr. 50. A. Fayard.
- EMILE-BAYARD (Jean), *Montmartre hier et aujourd'hui*. 10 fr. Jouve.
- FRANC-NOHAIN, *Les Salles d'attente*. 7 fr. 50. La Renaissance de livre.
- GALZY (Jeanne), *La Grand'Rue*. 7 fr. 50. F. Rieder & Cie.
- GARAVAN (Christian de), *Fanfare leur fille*. 7 fr. Jouve.
- GAULENE (Guillaume), *Du sang sur la croix*. 7 fr. 50. Rieder & Cie.
- GEORGES-ANQUETIL, *Satan conduit le bal*. 10 fr. Les édit. Georges-Anquetil.
- GERNANDT-CLAINE (J.), *Notre Chistine*. 7 fr. 50. La Revue mondiale.
- GUÉGUEN (Pierre), *Arc-en-ciel. Sur la Domnontée*. 7 fr. 50. Rieder.
- HENNEBIQUE (José), *Le Miracle des yeux*. 7 fr. 50. La Renaissance du Livre.
- JAMMES (Francis), *Les Robinsons basques*. 7 fr. 50. Mercure de France.
- JEANNE (René), *La Terre promise*. 3 fr. J. Tallandier.
- LA HIRE (Jean de), *La prisonnière du dragon rouge*. 4 fr. A. Michel.
- LAUTÈRE (Adrienne), *Le Corrupteur*. 7 fr. 50. Fasquelle.
- LES TROIS, *L'Initiation de Reine Dermine*. 7 fr. 50. Fasquelle.
- LICHTENBERGER (A.) et MICARD (E.), *Leurs 400 coups!*. . . . 6 fr. Aux Edit. associés.
- MACHARD (Alfred), *Le Royaume dans la mansarde*. 7 fr. 50. Fernci & Fils.
- MAGALI-BOISNARD, *Le Roman de la Kahena*. 10 fr. Piazza.
- MARC-AURAN (M.), *Une Ame*. 3 fr. Rhéa.
- MARC-PY (J.), *Une Nuit de Suburre*. 5 fr. France-Edition.
- MARGUERITTE (Paul), *La faiblesse humaine*. 15 fr. Plon-Nourrit.
- MAURIAC (François), *Le désert de l'Amour*. 7 fr. 50. Grasset.
- MIOMANDRE (Francis de), *La Bonbonnière d'or*. 7 fr. 50. Fernci & Fils.
- MONTFORT (Eugène), *La Belle enfant, ou l'amour à quarante ans*. 35 fr. La Cité des Livres.
- NANCY (George), *Les Esclaves de Méquines*. 7 fr. 50. Aux Editeurs associés.
- NEVEUX (Pol), *Golo*. 7 fr. 50. Grasset.
- NOLLY (Emile), *Le mariage de Bèp Mao*. 6 fr. 75. Callmann Levy.
- POULLAÏÉ (Henry), *Ils étaient quatre*. 6 fr. 75. Grasset.
- RAY (Jean), *Les Contes du whisky*. 7 fr. 50. La Renaissance du Livre.
- SAINT-ELME (Lucie), *A l'âge mouillé*. 7 fr. Les Gêmeaux.
- SALMON (André), *Une Orgie à Saint Pétersbourg*. 10 fr. S. Kra.
- SAUNIER (Marc), *Fiancé à une invisible*. 6 fr. 75. R. Chiberre.
- SAZIE (Léon), *La danseuse errante*. 7 fr. 50. France-Edition.
- SNELL (Victor), *Le Cœur incomplet*. 5 fr. Société mutuelle d'édition.
- THÉVENIN (L.), *La Robe sans couture*. 7 fr. 50. Edit. de la Vraie Fran.
- TISSERAND (Ernest), *Deux Petits Romans*. 7 fr. 50. Aux Editeurs associés.

April

- ARMANDY (André), *Le Nord qui tue*. 6 fr. 75. Tallandier.
- BARRE (André), *Au Pays de la faim*. 7 fr. 50. Fasquelle.

- BAZIN (René), *Il était quatre petits enfants*. 4 fr. 95. Mame.
 BLOCH (Jean), *La nuit kurde*. 9 fr. Nouv. Rev. Fr.
 BRANDIN (Louis), *La Chanson d'Asprement*. 10 fr. Boivin.
 CASSOU (Jean), *Eloge de la folie*. 7 fr. 50. Emile-Paul.
 CHANTEPLEURE (Guy), *L'Inconnue bien-aimée*. 6 fr. 75. Calmann Levy.
 DAIREAUX (Max), *L'Envers d'un homme de bien*. 7 fr. 50. A. Michel.
 DUNAN (Renée), *La Dernière Jouissance*. 7 fr. 50. France-Edition.
 FONTELLEROY (Jacques), *Chantal*. 6 fr. 75. Calmann Levy.
 GAIN (Raoul), *Pic de la Farandole*. 7 fr. 50. Aux Edit. ass.
 GRAUX (Dr. Lucien), *Moïra*. 7 fr. 50. Crès.
 LAMANDE (André), *Ton Pays sera le mien*. 7 fr. 50. Grasset.
 LAUNAY (Louis de), *Les Fumées de l'encens*. 7 fr. 50. Dunod.
 LAUTREC (Gabriel), *Le Serpent de mer*. 6 fr. 75. Edit. du Siècle.
 LEROUX (Gaston), *La Farouche Aventure*. 7 fr. Gallimard.
 LOUYS (Pierre), *Le Crépuscule des Nymphes*. 12 fr. Edit. Montaigne.
 MAC ORLAN (Pierre), *La Clique du Café Brebis*. 7 fr. 50. Ren. du Liv.
 MARTIN (L.) et PIGELET (A.), *La Nouvelle Amasone*. 7 fr. Baudinière.
 MAUCLERE (Jean), *Tiotsi aux yeux de mer*. 7 fr. 50. Plon Nourrit.
 NAVON (A.-H.), *Joseph Perez*. 6 fr. 75. Calmann Levy.
 PERROCHON (Ernest), *Huit gouttes d'opium*. 7 fr. 50. Plon Nourrit.
 PESLOUAN (Ch.-Lucas de), *L'Inconnu de ma maison d'Auteuil*. 7 fr. 50. Plon-Nourrit.
 POULET (Georges), *Bandimoure le procureur*. 7 fr. 50. A. Michel.
 RAMOND (Edouard), *Histoires marseillaises*. 7 fr. 50. Edit. de France.
 RENARD (M.) et JEAN (A.), *Le Singe*. 7 fr. 50. Crès.
 SIMART (Maurice), *L'Entresol de M. Perrucot*. 7 fr. Baudinière.
 VAUTEL (Clément), *Mon Curé chez les pauvres*. 7 fr. 50. A. Michel.
 VILLETARD (Pierre), *Un ménage d'autrefois*. 6 fr. Nouv. Rev. Critique.
- May (1)
- BERTRAND (Louis), *Jean Perbal*. 7 fr. 50. Fayard.
 FAROL (Camille), *Zouppette*. 6 fr. Pensée latine.
 SOMPEYRAC (R.), *Dans les sables en feu*. 7 fr. Pensée latine.

III. DRAMA

March

- BERTON (René), *Oreste*. 5 fr. Lib. théâtrale.
 DUVERNOIS (Henri) et DIEUDONNE (R.), *La Guiltare et le jazz-band*. 5 fr. 75. Lib. théâtrale.
 GEVEL (Claude), *Ca*. . . . 5 fr. Lib. théâtrale.
 MARCEL (Gabriel), *Un Homme de Dieu*. 7 fr. Grasset.
 N . . . , *Le Théâtre indiscret pour l'an 1924*. 7 fr. 50. G. Crès.
 NATANSON (Jacques), *L'Âge heureux*. 7 fr. 50. La Ren. du Livre.
 RIVOLLET (Georges), *Oedipe à Colone*. 5 fr. Lib. théâtrale.
 ROLLAND (Alice), *Le Miracle du sourire*. 3 fr. Edit. Spes.
 SAVOIR (Alfred), *La Grande-Duchesse et le garçon d'étage*. 5 fr. 75. Lib. théâtrale.

April

- AMIEL (Denys), *Théâtre*. 7 fr. 50. A. Michel.
 BRISY (Serge), *La Venue du Seigneur*. 6 fr. Office de Publicité, Bruxelles.
 ROUSSEL (Raymond), *L'Etoile au front*. 6 fr. 75. Lemerre.

May (1)

LENORMAND (H. R.), *La Dent rouge*. 4 fr. Crès.

IV. CRITICISM, ESSAYS, MISCELLANEOUS

March

ALBALAT (Antoine), *Comment on devient écrivain*. 7 fr. 50. Plon.

ARNOULD (Louis), *La Terre de France chez La Fontaine*. 4 fr. 95. Mame.

BAUDELAIRE (Charles), *Les Paradis artificiels, suivis des Petits poèmes*. 3 fr. 50. France-Edition.

FAURE (Gabriel), *Ames et décors romanesques*. 7 fr. 50. Fasquelle.

KAHN (Gustave), *Silhouettes littéraires*. 6 fr. 50. Edit. Mouton.

KLEIN (Felix), *L'Amérique et le Cartel des Gauches*. 1 fr. 50. Spes.

LA BRIERE (Yves de), *Les luttes présentes de l'Eglise. L'Eglise et l'Etat durant quatre années d'après guerre*. 18 fr. Beauchesne.

LA SERRERIE (Pierre), *La jeunesse d'Ernest Renan*. 15 fr. Garnier.

MAURRAS (Charles), *Barbarie et poésie*. T. 6, I. *Vers un art intellectuel*. 15 fr. Nouv. Lib. nat. et Champion.

MAURRAS (Charles), *La Musique intérieure*. 9 fr. Grasset.

N . . . Yves Allix, *Les peintres français nouveaux*. 3 fr. 75. N. R. F.

PHOTIADES (Constantin), *Ronsard et son luth*. 4 fr. Plon.

ROYERE (Jean), *Clartés sur la poésie*. 7 fr. Messin.

April

BEAUFRETON (Maurice), *Saint François d'Assise*. 12 fr. Plon.

DORDAN (E.), *Le paysan d'après les romans du XIX^{ème} siècle*. 7 fr. 50. Guittard.

JOUVENEL (Robert de) et TARDE (Alfred de), *La Politique d'aujourd'hui*. 7 fr. 50. La Renaissance du Livre.

JULLIAN (Camille), *Jean Aicard. La Provence et le Félibrige*. 5 fr. E. Champion.

LECOMTE (Jules), *Un scandale littéraire. Les lettres de Van Engelm.* 12 fr. Bossard.

LEFEBVRE (Ed.), *Pascal, l'homme, l'oeuvre, l'influence*. 4 fr. Gedalge.

MARTIN (E. L.), *Les Symétries du français littéraire*. 15 fr. Presses Universitaires.

MAUREL (André), *Souvenirs d'un écrivain (1883-1914)*. 8 fr. Hachette.

MAXE (Jean), *L'Anthologie des défaitistes*. 18 fr. Bossard.

MATHIEZ (A.), *Autour de Robespierre*. 20 fr. Payot.

PAULHAN (Jean), *La Guérison sévère*. 10 fr. Nouv. Rev. Fr.

PREVOST (Jean), *Tentative de solitude*. 10 fr. Nouv. Rev. Fr.

PSICHARI (Jean), *Ernest Renan*. 8 fr. 50. Aux Edit. associés.

RENAUT (Francis P.), *Les Provinces Unies et la Guerre d'Amérique, 1775-1785*. T. I.: De la neutralité à la belligérance. 7 fr. Alcan.

TAILHADE (Laurent), *Masques et visages*. 7 fr. 50. Aux Edit. ass.

VAILLANT (Jean Paul), *Village natal*. 4 fr. Messin.

May (1)

CHARTON (Ed.), *L'Angleterre et M. Poincaré*. 3 fr. 50. Edit. d'actualités.

PETIT (Alain), *Evolution de la législation en matière d'enseignement*. Rousseau.

REAU (Louis), *Histoire de l'expansion de l'art français moderne. Monde slave et Orient*. Laurens.

BOOK NOTES

ALBALAT (Antoine).—*Comment on devient écrivain*. At a moment when literary output has become so large the publication of M. Albalat's book is of special significance. It is typical of the French effort to systematise the art of writing. Mr. Albalat is the author of several well-known works on similar subjects, namely: *La formation du style enseignée par l'assimilation des auteurs*, etc.

BEAUFRETON (Maurice).—*Saint François d'Assise*. In order to stem the growing tide of legends about the Saint's life, Mr. Beaufreton has written a new biography entirely based on sources of unquestionable value.

BLOCH (Jean-Richard).—*La Nuit kurde*. No more nor less than a dream of adolescence, says the author. A fictitious action in an Asia of fiction, but beyond romanesque adventures the gradual disintegration and transsubstantiation of a personality.

CAUDEL (Maurice).—*Pour les Étudiants étrangers en France*. A timely book. Many American students go abroad and fail to derive fullest possible benefit from their stay in France for lack of information. This book gives a very clear idea of French civilization and explains French ways of feeling and thinking. An important bibliography is given after each chapter.

CAZIN (Paul).—*L'Hotellerie du Bacchus sans tête*. The action takes place in the fifteenth century. A Liégeois comes to Autun on a pilgrimage, in order to pray Saint Lazarus to cure him from leprosy. . . . A very clever restitution of old Burgundy with its customs, its superstitions and its good humor.

DE PESLOUAN (Ch. Lucas).—*L'Inconnu de ma maison d'Auteuil*. The hero, disfigured by a war wound, is haunted by a desire to be loved. He becomes involved in a dramatic adventure, and finds the illusion of love. This gives his life a new aim.

LEROUX (Gaston).—*La farouche aventure*. Tells all about the sensational tour of the actress Irène de Troie in South America.

PEROCHON (Ernest).—*Huit gouttes d'opium*. An amusing book. It contains eight short stories the inspiration of which is always fancifully burlesque. Mr. Perochon is the author of *Néne* for which he obtained the Goncourt prize in 1920.

RENÉ VAILLANT

BARNARD COLLEGE

BOOKS RECEIVED

Marius Barbeau and Edward Sapir, *Folk Songs of French Canada*, Yale Univ. Press, 1925, pp. xxii, 216.

Irving Brown, *Leconte de Lisle, A Study on the Man and His Poetry*, N. Y., Col. Univ. Press, 1924, pp. xiii, 270.

Maurice Caudel, *Pour les Étudiants étrangers en France*, Paris, Plon, 1925, pp. x, 237.

J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Geschichte der Spanischen Literatur, übersetzt von Elisabeth V. Vischer*, Heidelberg, Winter, 1925, pp. xv, 653.

Elizabeth H. Haight, *Horace and His Art of Enjoyment*, N. Y., E. P. Dutton, 1925, pp. vii, 276.

- Elizabeth W. Manwaring, *Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England*, New York, Oxford Press, 1925, pp. xi, 243. A study chiefly of the influence of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa on English taste (1700-1800).
- A. Mortier, *Un Dramaturge populaire de la Renaissance italienne, Ruzante (1502-1542)*, Paris, J. Peyronnet, 1925, pp. 286.
- Selected English Short Stories* (XIX and XX centuries), ed. with notes by H. S. Milford, Oxford Univ. Press, N. Y., 1925, pp. 515.
- Selected Modern English Essays*, The World's Classics 280, N. Y., Oxford Univ. Press, 1925, pp. x, 414.
- David Eugene Smith, *Historical-Mathematical Paris*, Paris, Les Presses Universitaires, 1924, pp. 48.
- Robert Southey, *The Lives and Works of the Uneducated Poets*, edited by J. S. Childers, N. Y., Oxford Univ. Press, 1925, pp. xv, 214.
- H. P. Spring, *Chateaubriand at the Crossways*, N. Y., Col. Univ. Press, 1924, pp. xix, 195.
- James F. Willard, *Progress of Medieval Studies in the United States of America*, Bull. no. 3, Boulder, Colo., 1925, 37 pp.
- New International Year-Book*, ed. by F. M. Colby, N. Y., Dodd Mead & Co., 1925. Contains surveys for 1924 of French and Spanish Literature and contributions to Modern Philology.
- Benjamin Bissell, *The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century*, Yale Studies in English, Albert S. Cook, Editor, LXVIII, New Haven, Conn., Yale Univ. Press, 1925, pp. ix, 223.
- Paul Grivollet, *Déclamation, Ecole du Mécanisme, cinquante leçons graduées, avec une Préface de Dupont-Vernon de la Comédie-Française*, Paris, Ollendorff, pp. xii, 96.
- Philippe de La Rochelle, *Advanced French Composition for Schools and Colleges*, New York, Columbia University, 1925, pp. vi, 225.
- Americana Annual*, ed. by A. A. MacDannald, N. Y., Americana Corporation, 1925. Contains surveys of Romance literatures and stresses contributions of American scholars to General Philology.

FACULTY NEWS

Miami University, Oxford, Ohio: Professor Leon P. Irvin, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, will be next year on leave of absence for study at Columbia University and the University of Paris. His substitute will be Professor Lawrence Skinner, who received his Master's degree from Cumberland University in 1924. Professor Willis K. Jones will also be on leave of absence next year, studying at the University of Chicago.

University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.: Dr. A. H. Schutz has been promoted to the rank of Assistant Professor of Romance Languages. Dr. Caroline T. Stewart, whose edition of Chateaubriand will soon be issued by the Oxford Press, will be on sabbatical leave during the year 1925-26 and will study in France. Miss Geraldine Spaulding, who returns from a year's study at Clermont-Ferrand, has been appointed Instructor.

Howard College, Birmingham, Alabama: Professor H. M. Martin, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Illinois State University, goes in September to Howard College, and will hold the same position there.

The State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa: Professor C. E. Cousins will spend the academic year 1925-26 in study and travel in Europe, on leave of absence.

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan: Associate Professor René Talamon, after leave of absence for a year, during which time he was connected with the College de Seine, France, returns in September to take up his work at the University. Assistant Professor Philip E. Bursley, after a year spent in travel and study in Europe, is also returning in September, as is Mr. Harry C. Barnett, after two years as Instructor in Tsing Hua College, Peking, China. Assistant Professor Marcel Clavel returns to France for the year 1925-26, severing connections with this Department, of which he has been a member for four years. Assistant Professor John R. Reinhard and Mr. Newton S. Bement are spending the summer in study in Europe. Assistant Professor Marcel Clavel is teaching in the Summer Session of the University of Cleveland, Cleveland, Ohio. Mr. Carlos Garcia-Prada is teaching in the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, during the Summer Session. Mr. Michael S. Pragment has been promoted from the rank of Instructor to the rank of Assistant Instructor. There will be two new appointments in the Department for the year 1925-26: Assistant Professor Robert K. Spaulding and Mr. Malbone W. Graham, both to teach Spanish.

University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin: Professor Antonio G. Solalinde, Professor of Spanish at the University of Wisconsin, on leave from Spain, is teaching in the Summer Session of the University of California. He will return to the University of Wisconsin in September. Associate Professor F. D. Chedyleur is teaching in the Summer Session of the University of Illinois. Professor W. F. Giese has a leave of absence next year and sails for France and Italy as soon as he has finished putting through the press his book on Victor Hugo which will appear very shortly in the Dial press.

New York University, Washington Square College, Washington Square, New York: Assistant Professor J. W. Barlow has been appointed to an Associate Professor-

ship with the title of Administrative Chairman of the Department of Spanish. Dr. H. Stanley Schwarz, of the Department of French, has been promoted to an Associate Professorship. Mr. George Walker, formerly of the Bordentown Military Academy, has been appointed Instructor in the Department of French. Mr. Dillwyn F. Ratcliff has been appointed Instructor in the Department of Spanish for the year 1925-26. Assistant Professor Marcel Vigneron, of the Department of French, is giving courses in phonetics in the Hunter College Summer Session. Mr. William M. Barlow, Instructor in the Department of Spanish, is conducting a tour through Spain under the auspices of the Instituto de las Españas. Dr. Pastoriza Flores, of the Department of Spanish, is traveling in Europe during the months of July and August. Miss Pauline Taylor, who has been on leave of absence since September 1924 for study in Paris, will return to her work in the Department of French for the coming year.

The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio: Mr. G. O. Russell, formerly of the University of Utah, has been appointed as an Assistant Professor of Romance Languages at the Ohio State University for the coming year. He will carry on work in experimental phonetics and it is expected by the opening of the autumn quarter that the University will have a completely equipped phonetic laboratory. Mr. Dwight F. Donan, formerly at Ohio Wesleyan and Missouri, has been appointed as Instructor in Romance Languages. Miss Gertrude Walsh has been appointed as Instructor in Romance Languages for the coming year. Mr. Glenn R. Barr, for a number of years connected with the La Academia Norte Americana in Montevideo, Uruguay, has been appointed as an Assistant in Romance Languages for the coming year. Madame Hélène Fouré returns to her work here after a year's leave of absence in Paris, where she has been doing special work in phonetics under Professors Passy and Meunier. Professor George R. Havens is teaching at the Summer Session of Johns Hopkins University, and Professor W. S. Hendrix is at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California. Professor Robert Fouré is conducting an educational tour in France, under the auspices of the Department of Romance Languages, Ohio State University, and the School of Modern Languages of the Cleveland School of Education. Professor Olin H. Moore is spending his summer in Florence, engaged in scholarly work.

George Washington University, Washington, D. C.: The following appointments have been made in the Department of Romance Languages: Merle Irving Protzman, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages; Ralph Baxter Foster, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages; James Christopher Corliss, Instructor of Spanish. Cecil Knight Jones, Assistant Professor of Spanish, is engaged upon a revision of his "Hispanic American bibliographies"; Joaquim de Siqueira Coutinho, Professor of Portuguese, conducted courses in Portuguese during the summer at the University of Berlin and the University of Coimbra.

University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S. D.: Professor E. M. Greene, who has been teaching French and Spanish in the Summer Session of the University, has been appointed Professor of French. Other new appointments in the Romance Department are: Mr. Frank W. McRavey and Mr. J. J. Steen, Instructors in French, and Miss Edna M. Jones, Instructor in Spanish. Assistant Professor L. M. Levin has resigned to accept a position in the University of Utah. Other resignations in the Department are: H. M. Kressin, Assistant Professor of Spanish, and M. H. Miller, Instructor in French.

Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana: Professor E. V. Greenfield has been granted a year's leave of absence to study in Paris and Madrid. While in Europe, Professor Greenfield expects to do considerable writing and also complete a French text-book on which he has been working for some time. Professor H. H. Wikel is in charge of a party that is touring the British Isles, France, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland this summer. Professor Wikel expects to return to the United States about the first of September. Professor P. R. Hershey is in charge of the department of Modern Languages at the summer school at Winona Lake, Ind. Miss Marie B. Dorullis is spending the summer abroad. After spending two weeks traveling in England, Miss Dorullis expects to devote the remainder of the summer studying at the University of Madrid. *Industrial and Scientific French* by Greenfield and Babson has just been published by Ginn and Company. Mr. Antonio Alonso, for the past five years instructor in Spanish, has resigned to accept a position in the division of Education of the Pan American Union at Washington, D. C. Mr. Edin Brenes has been appointed instructor in Spanish to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. Alonso.

Columbia University, New York City: For further development of graduate work in Romance languages the following new appointments have been made: Dr. Arthur Livingston, Lecturer in Romance Languages, who will conduct courses on *Contemporary Movements in Latin Thought*, *Research in Romance Philology* and *Old Provençal*. The latter course assumes additional importance by reason of recent purchase of a Provençal collection by the University Library. Dr. Irving H. Brown, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, will conduct courses on *The Romantic Poets in France* and *French Realism and Naturalism*. Dr. G. L. van Roosebroeck, Lecturer in Romance Languages, will conduct courses on *History of French Tragedy from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* and *Methods and Materials of Research in Modern French Literature*. He will also conduct a graduate course in University Extension on *Franco-American Relations in the Eighteenth Century*. Associate Professor H. F. Muller will conduct courses on *Introduction to Romance Philology* and *Linguistic Phenomena of the Pre-Romance Period*. Foreign appointments: H. L. Matthews, Cutting fellow in Italy; O. V. Petty, A. F. S. fellow in France; and Wm. Doub-Kerr, lecteur en anglais, University of Paris. C. H. Tutt, Order Sons of Italy fellow in Italy for 1924-25, returns to resume his duties as instructor.

Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.: Professor Margaret Jackson, head of the Italian Department, will be in Europe, on sabbatical leave, during the academic year 1925-26. Miss Adèle Vacchelli, formerly an assistant, now an instructor in the department, will be in charge during Professor Jackson's absence.

Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana: Professor Joseph S. Galland taught in the Summer School of Northwestern University during the summer of 1925. Professor Mabel M. Harlan will have a leave of absence during the academic year 1925-26, which she will spend in study in Spain. Mr. Thomas R. Palfrey has resigned to accept a position at the University of Illinois; and Mr. Murat H. Roberts, instructor in Spanish, has accepted an instructorship at the University of Wisconsin. The new appointments in the Department are: Mr. Agapito Rey, of the University of North Dakota, assistant professor of Spanish; Miss Margaret L. Carlock, of the University of Illinois, instructor in Spanish. Mr. Armand E. du Gord and Mr. Samuel F. Will have been promoted from acting instructor to instructor of French, and Mr. Maurice H. Kendall from acting instructor to instructor of Spanish.

BARNARD COLLEGE

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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. XVI.—OCTOBER—DECEMBER, 1925—No. 4

I—CAMÕES AS A LYRIC POET

IN the course of her history of nearly eight centuries Portugal has produced a rich and varied literature, which combines high cosmopolitan aspirations with national characteristics clearly individual. Not being entirely original—no literature is—it was considerably influenced by other literatures and by general development of ideas. Indeed, to these influences correspond its periods of greatest activity, progress and renewal, even as its most typically national characteristics coincide with Portugal's historical period of greatest brilliance and political and social originality. It is needless to say that, apart from this parallel development, some writers of genius struck notes of originality due solely to their creative genius.

From Brittany and Provence we received our initial literary impulse; from Italy and Spain the seeds of the Renaissance; from Spain the formal and artificial tendency adopted by literature generally in the seventeenth century; from Italy certain dramatic tendencies in the beginning of the eighteenth century; from France the aesthetic theory which prevailed in the Arcadian restoration in the second half of the same century; from France, England and Germany the Romantic revival; and from France and Germany the critical reaction towards realism.

To the peculiar circumstances of Portuguese life in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was due the very typical character of Portugal's classical sixteenth century literature. Taking these circumstances as a whole, the critic may distinguish the following essential characteristics in the development of our literature: the cycle of discoveries, the predominance of lyrism,

the constant taste for epics, the lack of drama, the weakness of the critical and philosophical elements, a certain mysticism of thought and feeling, and the divorce between writers and readers. By the characteristic which I have called the cycle of discoveries is understood the collection of works dealing with the discoveries by land and sea, and their moral, intellectual and political consequences. Their date falls chiefly in the sixteenth century, in the first classical period. This extends from 1502—the year in which Gil Vicente, by reciting the *Monologo do Vaqueiro* in the chamber of Queen Maria, laid the foundations of the national drama—till 1580, the year of Camões's death and of Portugal's loss of independence under the Spanish domination. This period of our literature combines in a most original way three elements:

- (1) The medieval, consisting of the old metres, the sources and internal structure of Gil Vicente's plays; the chronicles of the kings such as those written by Fernão Lopez; and the romances of chivalry.
- (2) The classical, consisting of the imitation of Italy, the classical drama (tragedy and comedy), the pastoral romances and eclogues, the new metres and their variations, and the epic; all this being due to the reform effected by Sá de Miranda and the doctrines of Antonio Ferreira.
- (3) The national elements, consisting of the intense action in Gil Vicente's drama, its internal plot which changed the form of the *auto*, forcing it into a complex evolution; the histories relating to the colonies; the epic of Camões and the creation of new *genres* such as the narratives of shipwrecks, the logs of sea voyages, the reports of land journeys, all the works concerning exotic ethnography and geographical description, which contain unconsciously much literary art.

By the predominance of lyrism we must understand the preference given throughout the history of Portuguese literature, by authors and readers, to lyric poetry, both in poetry and art. In this lyrism we must also include a certain personal outlook of the Portuguese, a subjective love of dwelling on and revealing his own moral existence, of laying bare his soul and throwing

his individuality into high relief. In this sense there exists lyricism in works which have nothing of lyrical poetry, because they are dominated by this extreme subjectivity. The most ancient literary record of the Portuguese language is a lyric poem of the year 1189, a love poem of Paio Soares de Taveiros to Maria Paez Ribeiro, a lady celebrated for her charms and adventures and known as the Ribeirinha. From that date through the great medieval song-books of Provençal style, the *Cancioneiro Geral* of Garcia de Resende, the bucolic poetry of Bernardim Ribeiro and Christovam Falcão, the sixteenth century poets, headed by Camões, those of the seventeenth century, especially Rodrigues Lobo, through all the academies and arcadias of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, through romanticism and realism down to the movement of the present day, which is marked by poets of intense expression, the preference was always given to lyric poetry. And when, as in the seventeenth century, prose attained great brilliance with D. Francisco Manuel, Lucena, Bernardes, Luis de Sousa and Vieira, it adopted this taste for lyricism; and thus we find in historical and religious works and in letters much personal lyricism. Rodrigues Lobo, founder of our artistic prose, is, owing to his date at the end of the sixteenth century, at the same time the last great poet of that century and the first great prose-writer of the seventeenth.

The constant taste for epics is revealed not only in the great abundance of epic material which the life of the nation provided for the imagination of its artists but also in the epic spirit which invaded other *genres* and in some of them, history for instance, damaged their sense of proportion and limited their critical spirit. The lack of drama is amply confirmed by a consideration of its history. Of the medieval drama there only remain a few very rudimentary traces, known through indirect sources; the *auto*, created by the genius of Gil Vicente, progressed no further in Portugal after his death and became merged in the anonymous literature of the people; and only outside our frontiers, in Spain, did it continue its evolution till it attained the high development of Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, Tirso de Molina and Velez de Guevara. Lope's treatise,

entitled *Arte nueva de hacer comedias en nuestro tiempo* (1609), is a true theoretical summary in which the aesthetic theory of the drama of the indigenous Gil Vicente is contrasted with that of the classics. The latter is not abundant nor of great value in the sixteenth century, with the exception of Antonio Ferreira's *Castro*, which inaugurates on the stage that tragic conception of love which later made Racine's literary fortune. After our golden age—excepting a few stray examples, as those of Mattos Fragoso and Jacintho Cordeiro, based on Spanish models, D. Francisco Manuel de Mello, whose play was probably the source of Molière's *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, Antonio José da Silva, who introduced his puppets in musical comedy, and the attempts at a restoration on the part of Diniz, Garção and Figueiredo—one must come to the romantic revival in order to find playwrights who excite interest and emotion, foremost among them being the great name of Garrett, with his *Frei Luiz de Sousa*.

The weakness of the critical and philosophical elements displayed in our literary development did not prevent the existence in Portugal of a school of literary criticism and another of philosophical speculation. The influence of literary criticism was, however, never important; it was exercised by Antonio Ferreira in the sixteenth century and in the middle of the eighteenth by the theoreticians of the literary academical Arcadia, with their ideas of reform. The nineteenth century saw the use of learned criticism, which however never emerged from the narrow limits of the universities. In the field of philosophy Portuguese thought reflected with varying brilliance and faithfulness the principal currents of ideas, but only at a few powerful moments did it influence in its turn and react with considerable intensity. In the thirteenth century it produced one of the most excellent generalizers of Aristotelian logical doctrines, Pedro Julião, who became Pope John XXI. In the sixteenth century it produced one of the most vigorous and closely reasoned treatises in the revival of Pyrrhonism, the *Quod nihil scitur* of Francisco Sanches, an introductory treatise which makes him worthy to rank with Montaigne and Pierre Charron, and an original forerunner of Campanella and Descartes. In the same century the eloquent voice of Antonio de Gouvêa defended

Aristotle from the attacks of Pierre de la Ramée. Leon Hebreo, in his *Dialogos do Amor*, wrapped the old doctrines of Plato in an aesthetic theory of love (Philographic); and a legion of exponents and commentators, Pedro Fonseca at their head, waged a spirited war on behalf of Aristotle when Bacon's reform was beginning to echo far and wide. It was Sanches and Leon Hebreo who contributed something new to thought, but it was the Coimbra school—as the champions of Aristotle are known in Portugal, because they were professors of Coimbra University—that truly represented the orthodox tradition of the nation's thought, which was as much opposed to novelty as the Roman Catholic religion was to heresy. These are the four thinkers who have principally attracted the attention of foreign critics.

In our literature philosophic thought is to be found chiefly in Camões, follower of the neo-Platonism of Leon Hebreo, in mysticism in its various shades, and in the materialist, evolutionary and positivist currents of the realistic school, side by side with which exist the spiritual doctrines of that great poet Anthero de Quental. But mysticism is an exaltation of religious thought which accepts direct communication with God and rigorously examines the life of the soul and the working of the mind in order that it should not depart one hair's breadth from the path marked out by its religious creed. Mysticism is amply represented in Portuguese literature, impregnated as it is with the thought of God. Mystic is a large part of our medieval literature, the lives of saints, moral treatises and some of the historical writings. Later the whole school of Alcobça, the prose writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some novelists and many authors of works of religious edification, the prophetic poetry, Frei Antonio das Chagas, Soror Violante do Ceu and the inimitable Samuel Usque, Frei Amador Arraes, Frei Heitor Pinto and Frei Thomé de Jesus owe their beauty and charm to the aesthetic idealisation of mysticism, which becomes in their minds an inexhaustible source of emotion. The subjective character of this literature is not calculated to obtain for it a wide public, rather it keeps it aloof from the people. Cultured literature has seldom had recourse to folk-lore and its themes.

The literary imagination of the Portuguese, with these characteristics, has no great tendency toward external psychological analysis or the study of characters. The gallery of our literary types is therefore small as compared with the abundance of those in which the literatures of England and France, with their objective spirit, find delight. Our psychological creation almost always takes the form of description and idealizing of moral aspects, collectivities, spiritual incidents and tendencies in which we all recognize something of ourselves, although not the whole of any of us—moments in which the artist's spirit identifies itself with that of his contemporaries under the same impulse of passionate inspiration.

To three of these characteristics, lyricism, the epic spirit, and the nationalism of the sixteenth century, Camões gave expression in so supreme a degree that his work became the faithful mirror of the Portuguese genius. It is this lyric work that I wish to discuss at present, leaving for later consideration the analysis of his epic and setting aside his drama as being less representative. When Camões began to write poetry the classical Renaissance in Portugal was in full swing and a distinguished group of poets already existed: Sá de Miranda, the reformer; Gil Vicente, inspired lyricist and charming and original playwright; Bernardim Ribeiro, Christovam Falcão, Antonio Ferreira, Diego Bernardes, Andrade Caminha, Frei Agostinho da Cruz.

To Sá de Miranda after his return from Italy was due a reform of far-reaching import. He it was who first attempted certain new forms of poetry: the sonnet and Petrarchan *canzone*, the *terza rima* of Dante, the *ottava rima* of Politian, Boccaccio and Ariosto, the eclogues and internal rhyme of Sannazzaro and the iambic hendecasyllable. Sá de Miranda was a poet of slight genius but as a forerunner his name will always be held in memory. He fixed the form of the sonnet as it remains with us to-day, the Italian form: two *quatrains* and two *tercets* of ten syllables, with or without a short appendix in another metre and with the rhymes ABBA ABBA CCD EDE or ABBA ABBA CDE CDE or ABAB ABAB CDC DCD. This Italian sonnet differs markedly from the English sonnet. It was not till the nineteenth century that Elizabeth Barrett Browning

imitated it as a novelty from Camões. In Italy Petrarch had not only adopted its Sicilian form but had filled it with a new literary ideal. With the Petrarchan sonnet love entered literature not as an accessory or in a materialistic sense, as in our medieval songbooks, but as the supreme expression of all the delicate aspirations of the human soul, as an inner life, a sacrifice of all thought and feeling to an ideal of perfect beauty, and as an ideal unattainable. Freeing it from the confused multitude of myths, allegories, metaphysical conceptions and material likenesses that Dante and medieval scholasticism had heaped upon it, Petrarch purified and revealed love. Love in this wider significance is a whole vast world of new emotions, a fruitful harvest of new themes for artistic imagination and subjective thought; this love is indeed a complete moral concept, an interpretation of life, to which it gave a reason and an object; one lived only because one loved and in order to love, since it was love, with its inexhaustible wealth, that revealed to souls their internal life and thrilled them. This high ideal was no longer that realized in the Beatrice of Dante, the symbol of beauty and perfection, voice and conscience of the universe and path to Heaven, the aesthetic presentation of the logical construction of Scholasticism, that subtly transcendent Beatrice shown to us less in the words of the poet than in his imagination straining to complete her, that light of the intellect beyond constraint. The Laura of Petrarch is a more human ideal, a beautiful woman ardently loved, a shape of loveliness irradiating loveliness, communicating with and softening Nature in sympathy and the desire of the harmony of loveliness. It even has a form, white as snow, with clear chaste eyes, golden hair, gentle speech, a voice musically harmonious, slow movements gently graceful. To love this form, to implore it fervently for the favour of a smile, the grace of a single word of good-will, to reproduce this form in harmonious verses and the expressive language of poetry, to despair of success and yet begin again in a continual effort and defeat of art, will be the deliberate object of the poets of the sixteenth century. Not a shadow of desire appears in their transports of love; upon that the sixteenth century poets closed the doors of their poetry and their

imagination, filled with Platonic idealism, which in love saw one of those pure ideas with which the Attic philosopher wove and peopled the world, making its essence to consist in them.

The love of Petrarch and of those who followed him in composing sonnets is also a pure idea which of its own accord acts upon matter, bodies and Nature and leads onward to the supreme good. Wide horizons opened before the imagination of the poets: to reproduce the loved object, the form continually copied in partial sketches of the great ideal pictured in each one's soul; to examine the moments of the heart, probe all the windings of one's soul and throw into the relief of art and poetical expression all the discoveries of this careful and incessant introspection; to delight in the suffering of love and express the contradictions of that delight; in the midst of endless attempts to give shape to the ideal form, to explain in what consists its desired beauty, and to set it in suitable scenery, soft and smiling—these were themes of an infinite variety.

Through the Petrarchan sonnet love enters our literature, as the first step in the hierarchy of literary themes, and that disposition of spirit is revealed which, extremely artistic and supremely fruitful for good and beauty, is often the spirit of love but is always the spirit of suffering. Through suffering life is felt, since it is the surest point of reference and correspondence; through it is acquired that power of sympathy, of psychological insight, of disillusion, of sensitiveness and goodness; and through it is learnt a true sense of worldly values. Abundant poetic inspiration was imported into our literature by the Petrarchan sonnet, which, at the same time as it altered aesthetic ideas, transformed its essence. The apprenticeship of our sixteenth century poets will be long and laborious, and more than once frustrated by the defects inherent in the severity of the structure of the sonnet: the compression of lyric inspiration within a scanty plot of ground, interrupting the flow of feeling or the sequence of thought and thus mutilating their expression, or the danger of falling, by virtue of the artificial character imprinted on the sonnet by its very brevity, into insignificance or complicated preciousness. This last defect will make the sonnet later a favourite prey of Gongorism.

This rich poetic material was developed since Sá de Miranda by many poets in constant efforts as though in search of perfect, unattained expression. Only the poetical temperament of Camões gave it full realization and in its proper form, the sonnet, Camões took the whole cycle of poetical themes then floating in the air, turning them this way and that in order to extract from them whatever they could yield to his genius. This material was the ideal of the transcendent self-sacrifice of love, confessed in the complex and contradictory sentiments contained in that mystic adoration, or explained by the divine beauty of the countenance that received it; on the one hand the subtle psychology of the passion of love, on the other the reflection of the beauty that inspires it. Between these two poles a wide, nay infinite, space lay open to the individual imagination of the soul, to reach an expression at once intelligible and beautiful of these new worlds of feeling and to vary the process of producing the full import of the beauty to be expressed, to extract the personal element of the emotions of life, transforming into judgment, sentiments and ideas what for others was an ordinary fact of every day life—such was the illimitable horizon presented to the poetical imagination of a Camões. No one better than he knew how to traverse this horizon step by step. How did he pass from being an imitator of the Petrarchan sonnet into becoming a creator of the sonnet of Camões? In the first place by mastering completely the external form of the sonnet, both in its structural phrase moulded obedient to his purpose and in the metre which he used with extreme correctness and fluency, apart from a few unavoidable slips; in this way Camões attained the first degree of beauty, that which results from harmony and loftiness, well-balanced conciseness, lucidity of language—in a word beauty of form as a suitable instrument of expression. In the second place, by making a new and very personal use of the matter presented to him. Gifted with an exceptional power of introspection and carrying within him permanently a confused world of sentiments and ideas, Camões knew how to disentangle the raveled skein of his internal world, to unwind it and give a literary expression to each part, each thread, to translate into poetic language

that vast world of psychic phenomena which philosophers were only beginning laboriously to analyse and distinguish in their inexperienced terminology. But as he was a poet, not a philosopher—as his vocation was literary art, not general psychology—he gives us of this tossing sea of his soul only the personal movements peculiarly his own, whereas the thinkers analysed the human soul generally. Camões condenses his material to such a degree that he renders his sonnet artificial, almost always subordinating it to a subtle final conclusion of refined thought which indicates that this is the object of the sonnet, all that precedes being a preparation for this thought. To the lucidity, precision and harmony of form corresponded a clarity, preciseness and refinement of idea, that refined elegance of thought which Camões was one of the first to present to the world. In the third place the understanding of love as it was fashionable in the literary world of the time, a delicious suffering, a voluntary seeking of sorrow, to lament and delight in it, was expressed poetically by Camões by paradoxes in which he often dipped his pen. This poetical method, at once so simple and so beautiful, and at the same time so apparently easy to discover, had not occurred to the sixteenth century poets, but Camões paints in paradoxes the paradox of love. Fourthly, to that common theme, the portrait of the supremely beautiful woman, Camões brings new elements, by varying the colours of the picture, sometimes in Nature's tints, at others with the effects born of contemplation in his own soul, at others again by the divine expressions emanating from the features of the object of his love. These portraits, which are completely ideal because they are composed of completely ideal elements, represent undoubtedly the acme of Camões's lyrical inspiration, for at these moments he dwells free in a transcendent world of idealism, where not even colour finds a place. And to express this quintessence of the abstract, rendering it not only intelligible in philosophic terms but beautiful, of a deep and intense emotion, and without ceasing to dwell in that region of light to give us wings to ascend thither—that is genius. Therefore the portraits framed in Camões's sonnets are no longer sketches, careful studies for a dream of art, they are all perfect ideals, forming a

gallery of masterpieces, as later the Madonnas of Murillo; and in each of them the poet varies his art.

Through Camões and Anthero de Quental the Portuguese language is inseparably connected with the evolution of the sonnet, that cosmopolitan form which was twice affected by our language at the hands of genius. Setting aside some laudatory sonnets and those which concern public events and are contrary to the essential character of the sonnet, and others of a religious character which are not very well suited to the artistic temperament of the poet, the sonnets of Camões form a veritable encyclopedia of love, a poem which has unity, with its plot and intense action, the drama of a soul that had intensely loved and suffered and in turning its suffering into poetry found its own happiness and drew from the process certain thoughts and edifying moral conclusions. These are the chief characteristics of the poetic world contained in the sonnets. It may be well to give a few examples to illustrate what we have said. The following sonnets show Camões using paradox as a magic oar guiding him to safety in the sea of passion beaten upon by contending winds in the raging hurricane of the illogical, the contradictory, the irrational, the unforeseen:

"Tanto do meu estado. . . ."

"So shifting and inconstant is my state
That cold yet all afire my spirit lies,
Of tears and laughter both the unwitting prize;
I nothing have yet all things contemplate,
Confusion doth on all my senses wait,
Fire in my heart, a river in my eyes;
Hope speaks to me, anon despair replies,
And I am happy yet disconsolate.
I stand on Earth, yet to the sky take flight,
A single hour a thousand years doth seem
And a thousand years not even a single hour.
If any ask the reason of my plight,
I say I know not but, fair lady, deem
That 'tis because my eyes have felt thy power."

The final thought of this sonnet lacks intensity and condensation, which are shown better in those in which the poet defines the reason of his life in death when he gives himself up to the

happiness of loving his dear enemy and repents of the time when he was free:

"Amor é um fogo. . . ."

"Love is a fire that burns yet burns unseen,
A wound that injures, yet without distress,
A happiness that is not happiness,
Sorrow that is no sorrow yet is keen;
'Tis rather not to love than love, I ween;
To wander among men companionless,
To deem no blessing that which still doth bless
And count that gain which but our loss hath been.
Love is a voluntary imprisonment,
Service to one who is not victor rendered,
Loyalty to one upon our death intent.
Yet since love to itself hath not surrendered,
How can its favour breed in men content,
Or in their hearts find service freely tendered?"

Let us see how Camões develops the theme barely sketched by Sá de Miranda in his best sonnet, the contrast between changing seasons of Nature, growing old to grow young again, and the changes in the life of man:

"Mudam-se os tempos. . . ."

"The seasons change and change continually
Man's being and affections in fresh growth,
Only of change on Earth there is no sloth,
Since all things shift to a new quality.
Ever new scenes and issues must we see
Defrauding hope and expectation both,
And Memory but the past sorrow know'th,
Past happiness is present misery.
Time decks the Earth now with a cloak of green
That was arrayed in the snow's mantle cold,
And all my song is turned to sorrow keen.
And through these changes, as each day is told,
Another change more fearful still is seen:
No longer changeth that which changed of old."

The Platonic conception of love Camões expressed in the following sonnet, about which still linger traces of the language of philosophy:

"Transforma-se o amator. . ."

"A part of that he loves becomes the lover
By virtue of imagination's fire,
So have I nothing left for my desire
Since that I sought within me I discover.
If my soul thus transformed therein doth hover
To what beyond it can the sense aspire?
It need but into its own self retire,
Since with that soul so fair the strife is over.
But this chaste lovely goddess thus inwrought,
Closely as in a sentient being sense,
Becomes within my soul a second soul,
And lives as an idea within my thought;
But living love that is my pure essence
Seeks form in simple matter to control."

This identification of the subject and object and the living presentation of an abstract doctrine in beautiful poetic thought reveal the multiplicity of the gifts of Camões's imagination, since in the sixteenth century with perfect ease and success he was giving us examples of that form of the sonnet which Anthero de Quental was to immortalize at the end of the nineteenth century. Let us now examine a few portraits of his gallery and point out in each case the material employed to draw in due perspective the primary cause of all his longing, the seed which planted in his soul a fruitful crop of dreams, aspirations, feelings and ideas, that cause beyond control.

"That some days since within my soul hath set
I know not what and born I know not where:
I know not how it comes nor why the pain."

First the concrete, pictorial beauty of a face drawn with the hues and charms of Nature flowering in Springtime:

"Está-se a Primavera. . ."¹

"A copy of the Spring is in thy face,
Wherein nobility doth match delight,
In thy fair cheeks and mouth and brow snow-white
Is lilies', roses' and carnations' trace.

¹ Cf. Shakespeare's sonnets "Shall I compare thee to a summer's day . . ." or "From you have I been absent in the Spring. . ."

Nature need but thy lovely hues enlase
 Its beauty to display in its full might,
 The woods, hills, streams and meadows at thy sight,
 O lady, are enamoured of such grace.
 But if these flowers' fruit thou wilt not yield
 To him who still in thy true service strove
 Then will these eyes lose all their wizardry,
 For little boots it, lady, that thy field
 Should be so richly sown with flowers of love
 If but of thorns is thy fertility."

In the following sonnet it is only by abstract gesture and expression that he reconstructs the ideal beauty of his muse:

"Um mover de olhos. . . ."
 "Eyes that so softly and so gently glance
 They know not why, an honest laughter welling
 Almost unwillingly, looks humbly telling
 Of joy, as though in fear of fresh mischance;
 A blushing boldness without dalliance,
 A grave repose, vain arrogance repelling,
 A simple goodness, the soul's inmost dwelling
 Seen in the clear, untroubled countenance;
 A timid daring, gentleness withal,
 Fear innocent of guilt, a look serene,
 A long-endured and patient suffering:
 Such was the loveliness celestial
 Of this my Circe fair, whose poison keen
 Had strength my thought within her power to bring."

And in the following, which everyone knows by heart, we have the best instance of Camões's intense power of expression in rendering the vehement aspiration of passionate longing. In this sonnet, spoilt only by being too well known, there is the reverence and piety of a prayer which seems to restrain and temper the passionate despair of a great sorrow without consolation that is ready to break through it. A stormy sea is divined beneath that appearance of restraint:

"Alma minha gentil. . . ."
 "Fair spirit in untimely banishment
 Gone from me leaving this sad life of woe,
 Rest now in heaven may'st thou ever know

While upon earth in grief my life is spent!
If in the thoughts of those above is blent
A recollection of this life below,
May'st thou be mindful of that love's pure glow
That in my eyes for thee was evident!
And if the sense of my abiding grief
May merit any recompense from thee—
My sorrow for thy loss without relief—
Then pray to God that, as His swift decree
From my eyes bore thee after life so brief
Even so now to thy sight it carry me!"

In the little that this sonnet asks, merely a remembrance of former love if Heaven allows, is contained beneath an ironic bitterness the greatest intensity of feeling, in contrast to the state of extreme grief which the rest of the sonnet reveals.

In the eclogue Camões used the form already established, adding merely—no mean addition—his poetic inspiration. The fifteenth century poets made of the eclogue a lyric poem and a form of autobiography; Camões's bucolic poetry is all lyrical, containing a few piscatorial eclogues. Fervent loves, sad partings, the change of inconstancy, indifference, disdain and the longing lamentations of those who have parted for ever constitute the material of Camões's eclogues. Only, the wealth of his imagination and his love of Nature, as it were, renew these themes, giving them a truer and more living expression, a greater sensibility; their form is transparent, quickly showing the contents, without the artificial subtleties and pointed cleverness which it was customary for poets to bestow on shepherds since the *Diana* had made of them a kind of intellectual sophists. The most beautiful of all is the fifth, in which a single shepherd speaks: he protests his love strong and constant even beyond death despite the cold indifference of its object. The wealth of imagery and the series of proofs of this love which made everything gay or sad, a magnificent instance of that other love divine in which all Nature moves and has its being, well display the power of Camões's genius in treating a theme which in another poet's hands would become monotonous, through the necessity of having to go outside his own heart and imagination to seek

material for this long poem—to literary reminiscences, mythological allusions, common and insignificant expressions. In bucolic poetry Camões was above all a lyric poet. He avoided the two opposite pitfalls of pastoral poetry—to make the rude, coarse, ignorant shepherds intellectual, or, aware of this mistake, to fall into their rude coarseness; he did not even avoid them consciously, but sailed on like a skilled and fortunate mariner, between Scylla and Charybdis without suspecting it, since subjective lyric poetry was his aim, not *genre* pictures.

The same world of sentiments which Camões framed in his sonnets furnished the matter for his songs (*Canções*), elegies, sextines and odes; but here the poet's feelings, unchecked by the severe limits of the sonnet, run freely,

"Giving the rein freely to all my care."

In the great riches of his soul the poet finds the ever varied subjects of his poems, for his sensibility ever experiences the oldest emotions as something new and his imagination never wearies of finding in Nature the most delicate metaphors and in his own world of feeling the most subtle expressions to render the quintessence of his soul and the extreme passion of one who has made a cult of love and of woman's beauty a divinity, one for whom constant idealization and sentiment was a spiritual necessity and who formed of the torrent of his heart's feelings a kind of philosophy and by these sentiments, all woven of personal emotions, explains life and the world. In order to translate this artistic thought it is necessary to create a suitable language, which shall combine harmony with depth and intensity and shall not be afraid of the illogical but rather adapt itself to the logical symmetry and extreme consequences of that most ideal architecture. And the result will be not a building to be judged by the world's laws nor by the general laws of logic, but to be revered as the reconstruction of a soul's true sense of beauty. It is in this way that Camões's lyric poems grow. Not like the gloomy knights of the ideal, who make of their dream their life's sole reality and in comical disillusion realize the conflict between their fancy and real life, but by completely reconciling the sense of reality with its reflection in his mind the poet gives us in his lyrism the ideal truths of one who with

a kind of second sight sees life's most distant perspectives and where others held back went forward on the wings of dream. As the scholastic philosopher with closed eyes constructs his system exclusively of the spiritual material of his thought, advancing fearlessly from deduction to deduction, so the poet descends the winding way that leads him down to the depths of his soul. Lyrical, subjective, curious about themselves, had been the other sixteenth century poets; all had seized eagerly upon the new poetic forms, the aesthetic ideas in vogue, on the pickaxe of analysis and the plumb-line of introspection, as miners eager to penetrate into the far recesses of the human soul. But their souls were all surface or at most subsoil. Camões alone had hidden depths within him, secret recesses, confused meanderings; and into this labyrinth he descended boldly and was able to examine himself, to feel the beatings of his heart and explore leisurely in every direction this new world of liberty and fullness. This discovery of a man's own soul by the path of suffering is in our literature a moment of supreme genius, for now for the first time it is made clear that in order to have literary genius it is necessary to have a personality of one's own, which is indeed its first creation. The suffering of love, if limited because of its very extremes, if passionate because pain only is its reward, occurs at every turn in his lyrics as an ever living theme which all their beauty cannot completely contain. And it is evident that this state of permanent tension of his soul was that which Camões found most difficult to express, for he constantly returns to it and when he expresses it sometimes advances to its ultimate consequences, sometimes pauses to limit and explain:

"Formosa e gentil. . . ."

"Fair and most gracious lady, when I see
Thy brow of gold and snow, and loveliest
Thy beauteous mouth that flashes honest laughter,
Thy neck of crystal wrought and thy white breast,
I only ask to see, ask nothing after,
But ever to behold such witchery
And prove myself to be
Thine in God's eyes and man's impassioned
By all the tears I shed,

Till half in love I grow
With my own self, that I should love thee so,
Yea, learn to love myself so fervently
That I am jealous of myself for thee.
And if perchance through my own spirit's weakness
I live in discontent, still suffering
That sorrow sweet my heart may not explain,
I from myself escape and swiftly bring
Myself to sight of thee: in happy meekness
My heart but laughs then at its former pain.
Of whom should I complain,
Since thy life-giving glance doth thus atone
For all my woe and grief,
Save of myself alone,
Unworthy of this boon beyond belief?
Yet even this fault of mine shall be no fault,
So high doth love of thee my thought exalt."

The logical conceptions of the world of his love penetrate one another, meet and mount and repel one another and then lie side by side in an unwearying and painful effort to build up in phrases born of feeling those changeless concepts and crystallized thoughts which had introduced into the world of feelings and ideas the same gaps of space that separate material objects; to express in common language the most individual thoughts of his soul.

"And thus I ever shun myself and seek,"

in that disconcerting confusion caused by carrying within himself a boiling ocean of ideals, from the depths of which arise loud aspirations and tendencies which the poet cannot adequately express. "Ah if," he says, "this thought so soft and gentle could find a voice to issue from my soul"; and as he listens to the voices clamouring within him the poet clearly feels his illogical, exceptional position, and begs that the effects which he describes should not be judged by common human standards: "My song, if he who reads thee is unwilling to believe what thou sayest of those fair eyes, because it is hidden from him, tell him that human senses cannot be judges of the divine, but only a thought which supplies understanding's faith."

When he is describing Nature, he likewise mingles his own feelings with its hues, thus giving the scene a subjective character, a tone of melancholic but profound serenity.

For his slighter lyrics in octosyllabic metre he reserved the artificial, courtly, airy elegance, the pleasant, graceful or ironic remarks of daily speech. These poems differ from the others in that their beauty consists in their facility and slight content; whereas the graver lyrics, as the *canções* and sonnets, belong to that kind of art which loses nothing by repetition, since as a noble music slowly gives up the succession of its harmonies, so such art gradually reveals the hidden world of its emotions.

The soul which experienced these sentiments was complex and original, and its poetical expression likewise, and for this reason only assiduous study can discover to us a world so vast. And yet its form is of a surprising simplicity, sometimes almost common; but inasmuch as it clothes conceptions so exquisite and translates attitudes of the soul so personal and so new, it becomes necessary, in order to pass beyond its simple clothing and enjoy its inner beauty, to possess in aesthetic appreciation a little of that ultra-sensitive spiritual refinement which Camões possessed in artistic production. Camões did not repeat himself—rather he left much unsaid, as he himself declares at the end of that beautiful autobiographical *canção*:

“Não mais canção, não mais. . . .”

“No more, my song, no more, for I could still
Speak for a thousand years; and if perchance
They blame thee, finding thee both long and dull,
Tell them a little glass may not contain
The waters of the unfathomed Ocean.”

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LA COMPENSACIÓN ENTRE VERSOS EN LA VERSIFICACIÓN ESPAÑOLA

I

EN un artículo recientemente publicado en esta revista, *La sinalefa entre versos en la versificación española*,¹ he demostrado que la sinalefa entre versos es un fenómeno muy bien conocido en la versificación española, comprobado con numerosos ejemplos desde principios del siglo XIV hasta el día de hoy. Es un fenómeno de capital importancia que hay que estudiar con esmero en cualquier estudio que se pretenda hacer sobre versificación española y sirve, entre otras cosas, para aclarar muchos problemas de métrica española que tienen que ver con los versos llamados irregulares. Muchos de éstos tienen de irregular sólo el que algunos no los saben leer con la regularidad rítmica en que han sido compuestos. Se ha indicado también que la sinalefa entre versos en la poesía española es una continuación del mismo fenómeno en la métrica latina que los latinos llamaban *synapheia*.² Hemos visto que este fenómeno en la versificación española se halla generalmente entre versos largos que alternan con versos cortos, particularmente entre los octosílabos y los tetrasílabos, o versos de pie quebrado, con los cuales alternan en estrofas de diversas clases. Los ejemplos más numerosos, por consiguiente, hay que buscarlos en las coplas de pie quebrado. En estos versos el pie quebrado es, por decirlo así, el grupo rítmico mayor que parece determinar y establecer el verdadero ritmo del verso de la estrofa o estrofas. Se ha tratado de probar que esta agrupación de los grupos rítmicos de la copla de pie quebrado en grupos de tres o cuatro sílabas con acento en la tercera es en general el esquema rítmico que guiaba al poeta que componía esta clase de coplas,³ aunque naturalmente no se debe esperar que el poeta se ajuste rigurosamente a esta ley, pues el mismo ritmo exige algunas veces la

¹ THE ROMANIC REVIEW, vol. XVI, 1925, páginas 103-121.

² *Ibid.*, página 105.

³ *Ibid.*, página 106.

variación para la mayor perfección. Pero, sea como fuere, en las coplas de pie quebrado en que alternan los octosílabos con los tetrasílabos esta agrupación es casi definitiva. Y estudiando en estos versos el silabismo y el ritmo no se necesita mucha penetración para ver que en muchísimos casos no sólo el número exacto de las sílabas sino que también el ritmo del verso exige la sinalefa entre versos.⁴

Directamente relacionado con el problema de la sinalefa entre versos y debido a las mismas causas métricas hallamos otro problema de importancia para los estudios de versificación española, la compensación entre versos. De este problema vamos a tratar en las páginas que siguen. El estudio actual es, por consiguiente, una continuación del anterior.

De la misma manera que la sinalefa entre versos también la compensación entre versos es un fenómeno muy bien conocido en la versificación latina. Los latinos (y también los griegos) empleaban no solamente la compensación ordinaria de una sílaba que pasaba de un verso a otro, sino que dividían palabras de cuatro y más sílabas entre versos, fenómeno raro pero empleado por los mejores poetas.⁵ Esta división o compensación

⁴ Hay una fuerte tendencia en estos grupos rítmicos hacia una acentuación trocaica, $\overset{1}{-} \overset{3}{-} -$, y $\overset{1}{-} \overset{3}{-} - - - - \overset{7}{-}$, pero es difícil saber si en el octosílabo el trocaísmo se debe al pie quebrado que siempre lleva la acentuación en la tercera obligatoria o al trocaísmo natural y primitivo del octosílabo. Un breve estudio sobre este asunto me ha convencido en la creencia de que la acentuación de los octosílabos de la copla de pie quebrado no es más trocaica que la de los octosílabos ordinarios que se emplean solos. El trocaísmo es más pronunciado, por ejemplo, en los octosílabos puros de Góngora que en las coplas de pie quebrado del Marqués de Santillana.

⁵ Véase Luciani Muelleri, *De Re Metrica*, Petropoli et Lipsiae, 1894, páginas 356-360; Wilhelm Christ, *Metrik der Griechen und Römer*, Leipzig, 1879, páginas 103-104; Lindsay, *Early Latin Verse*, Oxford, 1922, páginas 266-267; Louis Havet, *Cours élémentaire de métrique grecque et latine*, Paris, cinquième édition, páginas 60-61 y 173-175; F. Plessis, *Métrique grecque et latine*, Paris, 1889, páginas 26-28. Los mejores ejemplos se hallan en la obra de Lindsay y en la de Havet. Daremos aquí solo los siguientes de Horacio y Catulo:

Thracio bacchante magis sub inter-
lunia vento. (Horacio, I, 25, 11-12.)

Grosche, non gemnis neque purpura Ve-
nale neque auro. (*Ibid.*, II, 16, 7-8.)

Gallicum Rhenum horribilesque ulti-
mosque Britannos. (Catulo, XI, 11-12.)

consciente que el poeta reconoce al escribir sus ritmos en renglones o versos la hallamos también en la versificación española, por ejemplo en los versos 76-77 de *la Vida retirada* de nuestro Luis de León:

Y mientras miserable—
mente se están los otros abrasando
en sed insaciable. . . .

Ésta es una distribución de sílabas, necesarias todas para el metro y para la rima. Pero la compensación ordinaria de una sílaba que pasa de un verso a otro inconscientemente y que no entra en la medida silábica no la encontramos separada de esta manera en las composiciones poéticas y para darnos cuenta de su existencia hay que estudiar con cuidado millares de versos, contar sus sílabas y determinar su acentuación fundamental.

La compensación entre versos en la poesía española, como la sinalefa entre versos, se ajusta al tipo latino indicado en nota 5 (compensación) y en página 105 de *La sinalefa entre versos*, es decir, la sílaba que sobra en la medida silábica se halla siempre al principio del verso y hay que enlazarla con la final del verso que precede. Cuando hay compensación se añade una sílaba más al verso que la recibe mientras que en el caso de la sinalefa la vocal (con su consonante final cuando ésta cierra la sílaba) pierde su individualidad silábica y hace sílaba con la vocal final del verso anterior. La sinalefa entre versos la hallamos en general en las ya conocidas coplas de pie quebrado en las cuales alternan octosílabos y tetrasílabos, pero también se halla entre

En Horacio encontramos la compensación no sólo entre el verso sáfico y el adónico sino que también entre dos sáficos:

Nec loquax olim neque grata, nunc Et
Divitum mensis et amica templis. (III, 11, 56.)

Compárese con este procedimiento la compensación entre octosílabos españoles en Castillejo, sección IV de este opúsculo. Hay que observar, desde luego, que si bien la sinalefa latina entre versos o, sea la synapheia, y la sinalefa española entre versos son en realidad el mismo fenómeno, la distribución de sílabas de una misma palabra entre dos versos latinos, que por falta de mejor nombre llamamos también compensación, es un fenómeno muy diferente de la compensación entre versos de la poesía española. En el latín las sílabas que sobran al principio de un verso son absolutamente necesarias para el metro (cantidad silábica), mientras que en la compensación española entre versos la sílaba añadida no cuenta en la medida silábica. Véanse, sin embargo, los casos de verdadera compensación latina empleada también en la poesía española, sección VI de este artículo (Pombo y Villalpando).

versos de otras medidas silábicas, algunas veces hasta entre versos octosílabos, entre hexasílabos y tetrasílabos solos.⁶ La compensación en cambio no la hemos encontrado en tan variadas combinaciones métricas. Se halla, en general, sólo en las coplas o combinaciones métricas de pie quebrado en que alternan octosílabos y tetrasílabos, o entre tetrasílabos. En estas combinaciones métricas, sin embargo, la compensación es tan frecuente como la sinalefa. Los casos entre versos más largos son rarísimos. Pasemos ahora a la compensación entre versos en la poesía española teniendo en cuenta todas las observaciones que hemos hecho en sección IV de *La sinalefa entre versos*.

II

Los primeros ejemplos seguros de la compensación entre versos en la poesía española son del siglo XIV. Hay algunos en los *Cantares* de Juan Ruiz que no registramos ahora porque no queremos entrar en cuestiones de interpretación de textos, tan arduas como lo son las que suscita la interpretación crítica de los manuscritos de nuestro arcipreste. Hanssen, en sus estudios sobre los *Cantares*, ha tropezado algunas veces con dificultades métricas que desaparecen en seguida si admitimos la sinalefa y la compensación entre versos, y en el caso de la sinalefa el mismo lo ha tenido que admitir.⁷ Los ejemplos que en seguida damos de la compensación entre versos para el siglo XIV son de la *Doctrina de la Descripción* de Pedro de Veragüe, manuscrito del Escorial IV.b. 21, ff. 88, 108, publicado por R. Foulché-Delbosc en la *Revue hispanique*, tomo XIV, páginas 565-597. No divido ahora los ejemplos en los tipos A y B que establecí para los ejemplos de la sinalefa entre versos porque no quiero insistir en una concordancia rítmica que, después de todo, no

⁶ *La sinalefa entre versos*, páginas 115-117.

⁷ *Los metros de los cantares de Juan Ruiz*, en *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, tomo CIV, páginas 737-745, y tomo CX, páginas 161-220. El problema de la sinalefa y de la compensación entre versos, sin embargo, no es problema de sílabas más o menos, como cree Hanssen. Tampoco se trata de la supresión de la sílaba inicial ni en la sinalefa ni en la compensación. En los versos verdaderos nada se suprime ni se añade en realidad. En el verso de arte mayor no hay sílabas que faltan ni sílabas que sobran. El estudio definitivo de este verso hecho por Foulché-Delbosc (*Revue hispanique*, tomo IX, páginas 81-103) demuestra claramente que consiste en versos de dos grupos rítmicos mayores o dominantes, cada uno, $\frac{1}{2} - - - \frac{4}{4}$, a los cuales se ajusta el silabismo que es irregular sólo en apariencia.

creo que sea debida fundamentalmente a la presencia del tetrasílabo que alterna con el octosílabo, sino al carácter trocaico de los octosílabos españoles desde su origen. Sin embargo van marcadas como en nuestro trabajo anterior las sílabas séptima que siempre lleva el acento y la tercera cuando también lo lleva, determinando así la concordancia rítmica que ya ha sido establecida. Los números indican la estrofa, y damos solamente los versos que llevan la compensación.

Pedro de Veragüe, *Doctrina de Discreción*:⁸

54	Que te tienes de velar	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	De los pecados.	--- ³ ---
59	Pon con Dios tu voluntad,	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	Es tá seguro.	--- ³ ---
61	Sy otro tiene buen cabdal	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	Pe nado muere.	--- ³ ---
69	De matrimonio mencion	----- ⁷ ---
	De ues fazer.	--- ³ ---
82	Que rrogar syn deuocion	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	E s obra vana.	--- ³ ---
84	De los que trahen por demas	----- ⁷ ---
	La vestidura.	--- ³ ---
97	El caudal que sacaras	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	Se ra seguro.	--- ³ ---
98	De quien syenpre la bondad	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	Quiere seguir. ⁹	--- ³ ---

⁸ Este importantísimo monumento poético del siglo XIV está compuesto enteramente en coplas de pie quebrado en las cuales alternan octosílabos y tetrasílabos. La versificación es casi absolutamente perfecta y son absolutamente seguros los ejemplos de compensación y sinalefa entre versos que en él se hallan. Consiste en 154 estrofas de tres versos largos y uno quebrado cada una, y de los versos largos 422 de los 462 son perfectos octosílabos, o sea el 91 por ciento. Merece esta composición poética un estudio aparte en cuanto a su versificación. Hallamos en ella no sólo la compensación entre versos sino que también la sinalefa.

⁹ En casos como éstos hay que suponer, naturalmente, que la sílaba que lleva el acento, *quíe*, *có*, lo pierde cuando es añadida a la sílaba acentuada y final del verso que precede. Este fenómeno nada tiene de particular y se encuentra en casi todos los poetas que emplean la compensación entre versos, hasta en el día de hoy, como por ejemplo en los versos de pie quebrado de Ricardo León. Sirva de ejemplo el siguiente caso de este poeta que damos más adelante:

112	E puna por bien seruir	-----7--
	A grand señor.	---3---
116	Por ello podras venir	-----7--
	A grand dolor.	---3---
132	Respondio el sabidor:	-----7--
	Pa sar syn ellos.	---3---
134	Non me acuerdo sy vos vy *	-----7--
	Co mo vos llaman?	---3---

III

Durante el siglo XV la compensación entre versos, como la sinalefa, es de uso frecuentísimo en las combinaciones métricas ya indicadas. Durante este siglo la copla española por excelencia en la poesía lírica es la copla de pie quebrado en la que alternan o se combinan de diversas maneras los versos octosílabos y los tetrasílabos. Siguen muchos ejemplos notables de los poetas más célebres que en esta centuria componían versos en coplas de pie quebrado.

50	que es un puro padecer	---3---7--
	pe nas divinas.	---3---

Hay aquí tres grupos rítmicos mayores, cada uno de ellos dominado, en cuanto a su acentuación, por la tercera sílaba tónica,

que es un puro, padecer pe, nas divinas.

Y lo mismo ocurre en los dos casos arriba citados. En 98 la división es, por consiguiente,

De quien syénpre, la bondad quie, re seguir.

Y lo mismo puede suceder en casos de sinalefa entre versos, por ejemplo en el caso siguiente del Marqués de Santillana, *Proverbios*, que damos en *La sinalefa entre versos*, sección IV:

63	que del dar, lo más honesto	---3---7--
	es brevedad.	---3---

Aquí la división en grupos rítmicos mayores es,

que del dár, lo más honesto es, brevedad.

* See *, page 310.

Marqués de Santillana, *Proverbios*:¹⁰

2	si discrecion e saber	-----7-
	non ha perdido?	---3-
16	El comienço de salud	-----7-
	es el saber,	---3-
	distinguir e conoscer	-----7-
	qual es virtud.	---3-
	Quien comiença en juventud	-----7-
	a bien obrar,	---3-
	señal es de non errar	-----7-
	en senetud.	---3-
21	aborresce presunçion	-----7-
	ques adversaria	---3-
23	e non blasphemes del rey	-----7-
	en abscondido:	---3-
26	que propuesto todo amor	-----7-
	e sentimiento	---3-
27	Fronдино por observar	-----7-
	lo que ordeno,	---3-
	prestamente se mato	-----7-
	sin dilatar:	---3-
	pues debemos nos forçar	-----7-
	a bien fazer,	---3-
	si queremos reprehender	-----7-
	e castigar.	---3-

Hay muchos más ejemplos en 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 56, 57, 59, 61, 62, 63, 69, 72, 73, 76, 77, 80, 87, 95, 96.
Marqués de Santillana, *Bias contra Fortuna*:

9	Facil es de lo dezir.	-----7-
	E de fazer	---3-
18	Ques de Tyro e de Sydon	-----7-
	e Babilonia?	---3-

¹⁰ Todos los textos que citamos de las obras del Marqués de Santillana, de Frey Iñigo de Mendoza y de Fernán Pérez de Guzmán son tomados de la *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, tomo 19: *Cancionero Castellano del Siglo XV*, ordenado por Foulché-Delbosc, tomo I, Madrid, 1912.

25	E non mas te seguiran	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	que yo querre;	--- ³ ---
26	yo non dubdo pueda ser	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	por tales vias	--- ³ ---

Hay muchos más ejemplos en 29, 30, 43, 81, 86, 89, 98, 105, 111, 135.

Frey Iñigo de Mendoza, *Cancionero Castellano*, ya citado, páginas 72-78:

73a	vna espada singular,	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	de tal cortar,	--- ³ ---
	y sangriento su color,	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	por dar temor	--- ³ ---
	mas con amor y pesar	----- ⁷ ---
	de degollar	--- ³ ---
75a	Podemos muy bien prouar	----- ⁷ ---
	syn trabajar	--- ³ ---
	la verdad desta razon,	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	con la mortal infeçion	----- ⁷ ---
	que su inuencion	--- ³ ---
75b	y mostrar a la humildad	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	hu manidad,	--- ³ ---
	fue de tan justa ygualdad	----- ⁷ ---
	que en la bondad	--- ³ ---

En el último ejemplo hay compensación y también sinalefa entre versos, porque la sílaba que sobra y que se añade al verso anterior es *que en*. Hay más ejemplos como más adelante se verá.

Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, *Cient trinadas a loor de la Virgen Maria*, *Cancionero Castellano*, ya citado, páginas 698-702. La trinada consiste como lo indica el nombre en tres versos, dos tetrasílabos y un octosílabo. La división es un poco artificial, pues algunas veces dos o más van seguidas sin interrupción alguna excepto las pausas naturales que siguen a cada grupo rítmico mayor. Este grupo es, como ya queda indicado, un grupo de tres o cuatro sílabas con la tercera acentuada. En las

trinadas que nos ocupan, sin embargo parece que en algunos casos el poeta se olvidaba del grupo indicado y pensaba sólo en el grupo octosilábico, porque en algunos de los versos de su composición la compensación no es natural a no ser que haya un cambio violento de acento, y hay que leer los dos versitos cortos juntos como si los dos hiciesen un octosílabo. Esto nos indica claramente que el ritmo en la poesía española no es una cosa rígida que tiene que seguir siempre leyes fijas e inalterables, sino que, a veces, para mayor perfección se desvía de lo regular para formar una agrupación de sonidos solamente semejante a la regular. Siguen los ejemplos de compensación entre versos en las *trinadas* de Fernán Pérez de Guzmán. Después hablaremos de los tetrasílabos que se unen de a dos para formar octosílabos.

El tipo métrico de la trinidad es el siguiente, estrofa número once:

Non se lee	-- 3 --
nin se cree	-- 3 --
que jamas se vyo nin vee.	-- 3 ---- 7 --

Todos los casos de compensación entre versos de esta composición se hallan entre los tetrasílabos.

Ejemplos de compensación:

19	quel favor	-- 3 --
	(del su valor	-- 3 --
41	Si salud,	-- 3 --
	(gra cia e virtud	-- 3 --
42	gran onor,	-- 3 --
	(fa ma e valor,	-- 3 --
51	Deuocion	-- 3 --
	(e contricion	-- 3 --
55	do la flor	-- 3 --
	(del nuestro amor	-- 3 --
57	non vere	-- 3 --
	(nin fallare	-- 3 --

Hay muchos más ejemplos en 64, 68, 70, 71, 80, 89, 92, 95, 97.

Las *trinadas* números 18, 23, 30, 32, 87, 94 y 96 no caben en el esquema métrico que creemos es el fundamental en esta

composición, y en ellas hay que admitir que se trata, al parecer, de una variación rítmica que resulta en perder la agrupación fundamental en grupos rítmicos de tres o cuatro sílabas con la tercera acentuada y ajustarse solamente a los grupos mayores de ocho sílabas con la séptima acentuada, el octosílabo ordinario español con su variada acentuación interior y variado ritmo. Así resulta que número 18, por ejemplo, debe leerse como si consistiese en dos versos octosilábicos,

Loemos, glorifiquemos	- 2 - - - - 7 -
esta reyna, e no dudemos.	- - 3 - - - - 7 -

y de la misma manera hay que leer tal vez número 23 y los demás,

prosando, metrificando,	- 2 - - - - 7 -
ditando, versificando	- 2 - - - - 7 -

El verdadero poeta compone versos que son agradables al oído y pasa fácilmente de un grupo rítmico a otro sin darse cuenta de que ha habido una pequeña variación, pero su ritmo se ajusta inconscientemente a las leyes generales del ritmo que practica y emplea al componer sus versos. Cuando el grupo tetrasilábico es considerado como el grupo rítmico mayor, a él se ajusta la medida silábica, ora con sinalefa ora con compensación entre versos, pero a veces la acentuación de las palabras que entran en el verso no se ajusta fácilmente al ritmo del tetrasílabo y los dos tetrasílabos se unen para formar un octosílabo igual o semejante en su acentuación al octosílabo que les acompaña. No es necesario, por consiguiente, para explicar el ritmo de estos versos, al parecer irregulares, acudir a la llamada ley de Mussafia, que poco o nada explica, como hace Hanssen, o poner punto final a todo declarando que no hay versos tetrasilábicos en español como cree Robles Dégano.¹¹

¹¹ *Un himno de Juan Ruiz, Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, tomo CIV, páginas 743-744. Hanssen confunde los verdaderos casos de compensación con aquellos donde los dos versos se unen para formar un octosílabo, como queda ya indicado. Robles Dégano en su obra *Ortología clásica de la lengua castellana*, Madrid, 1905, páginas 116-119, no admite la existencia de versos tetrasilábicos y en todos los casos como los de las trinadas donde hay dos tetrasílabos seguidos cree que deben leerse siempre como un octosílabo. Pero la compensación y la sinalefa entre versos se hallan también entre octosílabos. ¿Tampoco hay octosílabos en español?

Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino:¹³

En Villasandino encontramos combinaciones métricas parecidas a las que emplea Fernán Pérez de Guzmán en sus *Cient trinadas*. En páginas 364-366 las coplas son de doce versos, o sea de cuatro trinadas a la manera de Pérez de Guzmán cada una. En éstas la compensación se halla también solamente entre los tetrasílabos. Siguen algunos ejemplos:

364b	De Milan	--- ³ ---
	con grant afan	--- ³ ---
	Viene agora Sancho el page,	--- ³ ----- ⁷ ---
	balandran	--- ³ ---
	de çamoçan	--- ³ ---
	non sabemos sy lo trage:	--- ³ ----- ⁷ ---
	como sage	--- ³ ---
	al gunt mensaje	--- ³ ---
	traera del Taborlan;	--- ³ ----- ⁷ ---
	Los que van	--- ³ ---
	syn capitan,	--- ³ ---
	sy non lieuan grant fardaje,	--- ³ ----- ⁷ ---
	penaran	--- ³ ---
	pe ro sabran	--- ³ ---
	que quiere dezir potage:	----- ⁷ ---
365a	los que estan	--- ³ ---
	con sant Julian	--- ³ ---
	e buscan otro afforage,	----- ⁷ ---
	andaran	--- ³ ---
	con el çatan	--- ³ ---
	en baldio romerage,	--- ³ ----- ⁷ ---

Hay más ejemplos de compensación entre versos tetrasílabos, y hay también muchos de sinalefa.

En página 434 hay una composición de Villasandino de estrofas de octosílabos y tetrasílabos combinados así: cuatro octosílabos, dos tetrasílabos, un octosílabo, tres tetrasílabos, y por fin un octosílabo. La compensación y la sinalefa se hallan

¹³ *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, tomo 22: *Cancionero Castellano del Siglo XV*, ordenado por Foulché-Delbos, tomo II, Madrid, 1915.

solamente entre los tetrasílabos. Hay que observar que en estrofas como éstas siempre queda un tetrasílabo impar, de manera que es imposible pensar en que dos tetrasílabos puedan siempre recitarse como un octosílabo, pues aquí terminaríamos la copla siempre con octosílabo y medio. Existe por consiguiente el verso tetrasilábico, aunque en algunos casos, cuando los tetrasílabos van pareados y seguidos, pueden combinarse en grupos mayores octosilábicos como ya queda indicado.

Los ejemplos de la compensación entre versos, como los de la sinalefa, son numerosísimos en el siglo XV. Pondremos fin a los muchos ejemplos que hemos dado y los que todavía podríamos dar para esta centuria con algunos de las famosas coplas de Jorge Manrique (*Cancionero Castellano*, ya citado, tomo II, páginas 228-234):

2	pues que todo ha de pasar	---3---7---
	por tal manera.	---3---
3	que van a dar en la mar	---7---
	que es el morir:	---3---
	allí van los señorios	---3---7---
	derechos a se acabar	---7---
	y consumir;	---3---
6	si bien vvasemos del	---7---
	co mo deuemos,	---3---

En número 3 tenemos otro ejemplo de compensación y sinalefa entre versos a la vez.

9	Las mañas y ligereza	-----7-
	y la fuerza corporal	---3---7-
	de jouentud,	---3---
	todo se torna graueza	-----7-
	quando llega el arrauaí	---3---7-
	de senectud.	---3---

Hay muchísimos ejemplos más en 16, 25, 27, 28, 35, 39.

Casos como los siguientes, que también se hallan en otros poetas, se pueden leer con sinalefa, pero yo creo que es preferible

leerlos con compensación porque es más agradable para el ritmo leer la sílaba separada y con hiato:

31 Estas sus viejas estorias,	-----7-
que con su brazo pinto	-----7-
en jouentud,	---3-
con otras nuevas victorias	---2-----7-
agora las renouo	---2-----7-
en senectud.	---3-

IV

Entrado el siglo XVI la compensación entre versos, como la sinalefa, sigue empleándose por los poetas, pero con menos frecuencia. En las composiciones líricas todavía hay muchos ejemplos. Problema de capital interés es tratar de descubrir si algunos poetas la empleaban libremente al lado de la sinalefa y otros la rechazaban. Nuestros estudios actuales no nos inducen a llegar a conclusiones definitivas sobre este asunto, pero sí podemos decir que en algunos poetas parece haber aversión a su empleo. Los autores dramáticos de fines del siglo XV y principios del XVI todavía hacían uso de ambos fenómenos en su versificación, si bien hay una notabilísima diferencia entre ellos. Algunos emplean la sinalefa pero no la compensación mientras que otros emplean los dos fenómenos sin restricción alguna.¹³

Siguen los ejemplos de compensación entre versos en el

¹³ Hay menos aversión a la sinalefa que a la compensación entre versos. A fines del siglo XV y a principios del XVI abundan las coplas de pie quebrado en que alternan octosílabos y tetrasílabos en los poetas dramáticos, pero no todos los poetas admiten libremente sinalefa y compensación entre versos. Gil Vicente admite ambos fenómenos sin restricción alguna, ya sea en castellano o en portugués. Torres Naharro emplea algunas veces la sinalefa entre versos, pero no emplea, al parecer, la compensación. Yo por lo menos no he encontrado ningún ejemplo en sus obras dramáticas. Idéntico proceder encontramos en Juan del Encina. En *La sinalefa entre versos* hemos dado muchos ejemplos de sinalefa entre versos en Juan del Encina. Ejemplos de compensación no los hemos hallado. Véase nota 31. En Sánchez de Badajoz hay también sinalefas entre versos, pero en sus obras dramáticas he encontrado sólo un caso de compensación. Hay algunos en sus composiciones líricas. Al contrario, en Lucas Fernández, el salmantino, y en Juan de Timoneda, la sinalefa y la compensación entre versos se usan sin restricción alguna, como más adelante veremos.

siglo XVI. Damos primero los de Lucas Fernández por ser los primeros y últimos que se encuantran en grande abundancia (al lado de los casos de sinalefa entre versos) en un autor dramático:

Lucas Fernández, *Farsas y Églogas*. Los números indican las páginas: ¹⁴

51	¡Ay de mí! y a dónde iré?	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	Do buscaré?	--- ³ ---
52	De linda sangre y facion	----- ⁷ ---
	Y condicion.	--- ³ ---
56	En ella se a sí matar.	----- ⁷ ---
	De beis dejar	--- ³ ---
57	Procurá de lo encantar	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	O en comendar,	--- ³ ---
59	No me, no me desdeñeis.	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	Por qué lo haceis?	--- ³ ---
61	Yo por vos sí, en buena fe.	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	Y aun os diré	--- ³ ---
66	Ay vereis cómo os vais	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	Y me dejais	--- ³ ---

Hay muchos más ejemplos en 68, 70, 73, 74, 77, 78, 86, 93, 96, 97, 99, 103, 105, 106, 113, 119, 121, 123, 125, 131. En Lucas Fernández hay también numerosísimos casos de sinalefa entre versos en 52, 53, 55, 56, 59, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 74, 75, 76, 86, etc., etc., que deben añadirse a los del siglo XVI que damos en *La sinalefa entre versos*, sección V. Se encuentran casi a cada página.

Juan de Timoneda, *Obras completas*: ¹⁵

163	pues por ver si lleuo el son	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	qu' es menester,	--- ³ ---
164	Quién, señores, hoy me da	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	con solacion?	--- ³ ---

¹⁴ Edición de la Real Academia Española, Madrid, 1867.

¹⁵ *Obras completas de Juan de Timoneda*, publicadas por la Sociedad de Bibliófilos Valencianos, con un estudio de D. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, tomo I, *Teatro Profano*, Valencia, 1911.

	La sancta resurrection,	-----7-
	can ticum grado.	---3--
165	Pide quedo, baladron.	---3---7-
	Al ca la boz.	---3--
	Ô hideputa y qué coz	---3---7-
	mas de lleuar	---3--
172	No te cures tú d' entrar	---3---7-
	en su quiston;	---3--
173	cómo: que poder tenés	---3---7-
	pa ra quitar	---3--
175	que mas se ha de presumir	---3---7-
	y tener tiento,	---3--
181	Devotos christianos, quien	-----7-
	man da rezar	---3--

Hay muchos más casos en 192, 194, 277, 282, 291, 292, 296, 298, 303, 306, 308, 323, 337, 338, 342, 349, etc., etc. Hay también en Timoneda muchos casos de sinalefa entre versos, aunque menos numerosos que la compensación, en 163, 187, 211, 275, 280, 285, 286, 293, 294, 297, 324, 325, 331, etc., etc., que deben añadirse a los ejemplos del siglo XVI y XVII citados en *Sinalefa entre versos*, sección V. Es curioso notar que en todos los poetas que emplean los dos fenómenos en su versificación la sinalefa entre versos es siempre más frecuente que la compensación, mientras que en Timoneda, al contrario, la compensación es mucho más frecuente. En las primeras 350 páginas del tomo primero de las *Obras completas* hemos contado treinta casos de compensación entre versos contra quince de sinalefa, una proporción de dos compensaciones contra una sinalefa.

Juan de Angulo, *Las fiestas de Toledo* (año 1555): ¹⁶

420	Y tambien inuoco a vos,	---3---7-
	madre de consolacion	-----7-
	y soberana,	---3--
	de quien el Hijo de Dios	-----7-
	tomó forma de varon	---3---7-
	en carne humana.	---3--

¹⁶ Publicadas por Santiago Alvarez Gamero en la *Revue hispanique*, tomo XXXI, páginas 418-485.

421	que en este año nos dio Dios	---3---7-
	a los presentes:	---3-
425	sin podernos sojuzgar	---3---7-
	nin gun contrario.	---3-
	tal defensa de su onor	---3---7-
	y claridad,	---3-
	tal saber para regir	---3---7-
	y bien reynar,	---3-
	Pues humildad y prudencia,	-----7-
	con otras virtudes mil,	-----7-
	no os an faltado,	---3-
	que a vuestra sacra excellencia	-----7-
	como a reyna varonil	---3---7-
	se a n allegado.	---3-

Hay muchos más ejemplos de compensación entre versos y también de sinalefa en esta larguísima composición, compuesta en su mayor parte en coplas de pie quebrado. Los últimos dos que damos son de compensación y sinalefa a la vez.

Cristóbal de Castillejo, *Sermón de Amores*:¹⁷

En esta composición de Castillejo hay un ejemplo de compensación entre octosílabos, el primero de los que siguen.¹⁸ Los números indican la página.

522	madre mía, a donde yré?	1-3-5-7-
	¡que mal vecino es el amor!	1-3---7-
	a donde yré?	1-3-
528	quando las han de besar,	-----7-
	O amor mio, ¹⁸	---3-

¹⁷ Publicado por R. Foulché-Delbosc en la *Revue hispanique*, tomo XXXVI, páginas 509-595. En B. A. E., vol. 32, *Poetas líricos de los siglos XVI y XVII* (129a, 134a, 146b, 169a, 169b), hay más ejemplos de Castillejo.

¹⁸ Hay también en el *Sermón de Amores* un caso muy singular de sinalefa entre octosílabos, casos que son rarísimos, como ya queda indicado en nuestro artículo *La sinalefa entre versos*. Lo damos en seguida:

575	no se compra con no nada,	---3---7-
	e la ventaja se les deue	---3---7-

¹⁹ Puede leerse también con sinalefa de o y a en vez de compensación entre versos.

532	de nuestra sensualidad.	-----7-
	Ved si aprouecha	-----3-
560	mas a ninguna leal	-----7-
	se rá tu amor:	1-3-

En el *Sermón de Amor* nuevamente compuesto por el Menor Aunes, que sigue al de Castillejo en la publicación de Foulché-Delbosc, de fines del siglo XVI o principios del XVII, hay también algunos casos de compensación entre versos (y también de sinalefa).

Francisco de Castilla, *Proverbios*: ²⁰

I	Sobre todo cree y ten	-----3-----7-
	La fe cristiana.	-----3-
V	Piensa cómo se humilló	-----3-----7-
	Por ensalzarte;	-----3-
XI	Y habras de tal tentacion	-----7-
	Me recimiento.	-----3-
XIV	Teme de la ocasional	-----7-
	Ad versa suerte;	-----3-
XIX	Usa de la libertad	-----7-
	De tu albedrío.	-----3-

Juan de Linares, *Flor de enamorados*: ²¹

	Cautivó mi libertad	-----3-----7-
	u na doncella,	-----3-
	pues le di mi voluntad	-----3-----7-
	sin conocella.	-----3-
	por quererme cautivar	-----3-----7-
	de u na doncella,	-----3-
	Contra mi descanso y fe	-----7-
	se rebeló.	-----3-

²⁰ *Romancero y Cancionero sagrados*, ed. Justo de Sancha, en *B. A. E.*, vol. 35, Madrid, 1855, páginas 251-252.

²¹ *La verdadera poesia castellana*, etc., recogida y estudiada por D. Julio Cejador y Frauca, tomo IV, Madrid, 1923, páginas 276-277.

V

Siguen ahora ejemplos de compensación entre versos en la poesía del siglo XVII. En este siglo la compensación entre versos, como la sinalefa, es mucho menos frecuente que en los dos siglos anteriores. Esto no es debido a una aversión de parte de los poetas a la compensación y a la sinalefa entre versos sino al hecho de que en este siglo las coplas de pie quebrado en las cuales alternan octosílabos y tetrasílabos ya no son tan populares. En la poesía dramática ya no se emplean, excepto en algunas farsas y autos de principios del siglo, y en todos los ramos de la poesía las combinaciones métricas en que alternan heptasílabos y endecasílabos van ganando la victoria sobre ellas. Este gradual abandono de la copla de pie quebrado por excelencia del siglo XV comienza, claro es, con Boscán y Garcilaso de la Vega en el siglo XVI, pero el triunfo definitivo de las formas con heptasílabos y endecasílabos no se realiza hasta el siglo XVII.

Ejemplos de compensación entre versos.

Luis de Góngora: ²²

166a	Esto, Niño, pido io,	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	i io tambien,	--- ³ ---
	i todos, amen, amen.	----- ⁷

Letrilla número 39 en páginas 164-165 lleva siete veces el pie quebrado *i dicen bien* que hay que enlazar con el octosílabo agudo que precede por medio de compensación entre versos. Los dos primeros casos son:

	que de todos dicen mal,	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	i dicen bien.	--- ³ ---
	dicen: Den a donde den,	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	i dicen bien.	--- ³ ---

Francisco de Figueroa: ²³

94a	Suaves me aplicará	----- ⁷ ---
	De la poesía?	--- ³ ---

²² *Poesías inéditas de Góngora*, publicadas por Hugo A. Rennert en la *Revue hispanique*, 1897, páginas 139-173.

²³ *Poetas líricos de los siglos XVI y XVII*, en B. A. E., vol. 42, Madrid, 1857.

A vos, señor Juan de Dios,	-----7
Contra vos he menester,	-----3-----7-
Por no ofenderos;	-----3-----
Y si me ayudáis, por Dios,	-----7
Que milagros han de hacer	-----3-----7-
Vues tros dineros.	-----3-----
Os salis a predicar	-----3-----7-
A tales horas,	-----3-----
Para qué irles a llorar	-----3-----7-
Has ta las camas?	-----3-----
94b Tan de una vez reducir	-----7-
A la capacha!	-----3-----

Jerónimo de Cáncer y Velasco: ²³

429a De una calle a buen compás,	-----3-----7-
Hé tele aquí	-----3-----
Que me salen a mi ver	-----3-----7
Seis ladrones de los mas	-----3-----7-
Lin dos que vi.	-----3-----
429b Por la segunda intencion,	-----7-
Con gran doblez.	-----3-----
En mi memoria, y estáis	-----7-
En mi cuidado;	-----3-----
Mas vos mi mal no sentis,	-----7
Que en mi frente os paseais	-----3-----7-
Por lo empedrado.	-----3-----

VI

Durante los siglos XVIII y XIX las combinaciones métricas en las cuales abundan los ejemplos de compensación y de sinalefa entre versos no son muy populares, pero se emplean con bastante frecuencia para que no falten los ejemplos de ambos fenómenos en la versificación.

Siguen algunos ejemplos de compensación entre versos en la poesía del siglo XVIII.

José Somoza: ²⁴

²⁴ *Poetas líricos del Siglo XVIII*, ed. Cueto, Tomo III, B. A. E., vol. 67, Madrid, 1875.

469a	De su suerte en inquietud	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	Con tinua están.	--- ³ ---
	Y ruidosa multitud	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	Di ciendo van;	--- ³ ---
470a	Verdaderos, despreciar	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	Lo s aparentes,	--- ³ ---
	En rueda que ha de volver	----- ⁷ ---
	For tuna inestable!	--- ³ ---
	Su circunferencia un ser	----- ⁷ ---
	Tan vulnerable!	--- ³ ---
	Dado sea conseguir	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	Tal beatitud,	--- ³ ---

Más abundantes, al parecer, son los ejemplos del siglo XIX. Siguen algunos.

José de Espronceda: ²⁵

116	Pues nuestra gloria pasó,	----- ⁷ ---
	Jun tos lloremos.	--- ³ ---

José Zorrilla: ²⁶

83-84	Tanto soñar sin dormir	----- ⁷ ---
	Y tanto afán,	--- ³ ---
84a	Cerrándose sin sentir	----- ⁷ ---
	Lo s ojos van	--- ³ ---
	Y el insecto pertinaz	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	Que bulle en torno	--- ³ ---
84b	En lo que hemos de soñar	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	Cuan do morimos	--- ³ ---
254b	Y huyo a mi pesar de ti.	----- ⁷ ---
	Hu ye de aquí.	--- ³ ---

Rafael Pombo: ²⁷

348	Y de absurdos aquel tal	--- ³ --- ⁷ ---
	Con trabandista.	-----

²⁵ *Obras Poéticas de Don José de Espronceda*, París, 1900.

²⁶ *Obras de Don José Zorrilla*, ed. Ildefonso de Ovejas, París, s.a., Tomo I. A los casos de sinalefa entre versos que citamos para Zorrilla en *La sinalefa entre versos*, Sección VI, añádanse los que se encuentran entre tetrasílabos en páginas 470, 515, 517.

²⁷ *Poesías de Rafael Pombo*, ed. Gómez Restrepo, Bogotá, 1916, Tomo I.

351	Gracias a Dios que no fué	-----7
	De ese oficio ningún E-	---3---7
	vangelista.	---3---

El segundo caso del poeta colombiano tiene la novedad de añadir al verso que precede no una sílaba sin acento e innecesaria, sino una sílaba que recibe el acento y que es necesaria para el metro y para la rima. Y por eso el poeta la ha puesto, al parecer, donde pertenece, a la manera horaciana.

Igual procedimiento encontramos entre los siguientes versos trisílabos del moderno poeta mejicano, Jesús Villalpando:²⁸

	Dejéla que partiera	- 2 --- 6 -
	En pos	- 2
	Del sol . . .	- 2
	Y un poco me ha dolido	- 2 --- 6 -
	El co-	- 2
	razón.	- 2

Estos tres últimos casos no son en realidad de compensación ordinaria, como ya queda dicho en sección I.

VII

En la poesía moderna la compensación entre versos es muy rara, más rara aún que la sinalefa entre versos, al parecer, pero no faltan algunos versificadores, los mismos que emplean la sinalefa, exceptuando a Darío, que todavía la emplean en sus ritmos. Siguen algunos ejemplos notables.

Ricardo León:²⁹

50	que es un puro padecer	---3---7-
	plenas divinas.	---3---
52	y sólo sé amar y arder	-----7-
	en este fuego.	---3---

Ramón del Valle-Inclán, *Versos de Job*:³⁰

467	esqueleto de león	---3---7-
	en el desierto!	---3---

²⁸ *Nuevos Poetas de México*, ed. Genaro Estrada, México, 1916, página 330.

²⁹ *Alivio de Caminantes*, en Tomo I de sus *Obras Completas*, Madrid, 1915.

En casos como este último de Valle-Inclán, de los cuales hay muchos, no es siempre fácil decidir si hay que enlazar la consonante con la vocal que sigue o no. Si hay pausa después del octosílabo *esqueleto de leónen* | *el desierto* la *ene* va separada de la vocal siguiente, pero si los dos versos se leen seguidos y sin pausa entre ellos la división silábica es como sigue: *esqueleto de leónen* | *nel desierto*.

E. Ramírez Angel: ³⁰

366	la que nunca ha de volver	--- 3 --- 7 ---
	ja más, jamás . . .	--- 3 ---

VIII

La compensación entre versos en la versificación española, por consiguiente, queda establecida de la misma manera que antes la sinalefa, con numerosos ejemplos desde el siglo XIV hasta el día de hoy. Es también un fenómeno de grande importancia que merece ser estudiado con mucho esmero en cualquier estudio que se haga de la versificación española. Hemos visto que ambos fenómenos se hallan en general entre octosílabos y tetrasílabos o entre tetrasílabos, pero hay bastantes ejemplos de compensación y también de sinalefa entre octosílabos y entre otros metros para poder afirmar que ambos fenómenos pueden emplearse entre cualesquiera metros ya sea cortos o largos. Es muy natural que cuanto más largos sean los versos o grupos rítmicos mayores las pausas sean más largas, y como consecuencia de este factor cuantitativo la tendencia a la sinalefa o compensación entre ellos es menos favorecida.

Juan del Encina en su *Arte de Poesía Castellana* y Antonio de Nebrija en su *Gramática Castellana* comprenden perfectamente la existencia de la compensación entre versos en la poesía

³⁰ *Parnaso Español Contemporáneo*, ed. José Brissa, Barcelona, 1914.

Comprenderán nuestros lectores que cuando damos un ejemplo tenemos completa seguridad de que es verdadero en vista de la regularidad métrica de todo el poema, o serie de estrofas; octosílabos y tetrasílabos, etc. Un par de versos, claro es, nada nos dice; pues no hay motivo para negar la existencia de pentasílabos que alternan con octosílabos, etc., etc. En su *Canción de Carnaval* Darío alterna tetrasílabos y pentasílabos con octosílabos de una manera difícil de comprender. De versos semejantes, naturalmente no podemos probar nada en cuanto a compensación y sinalefa entre versos.

castellana de su época y así lo atestiguan con toda claridad, diciéndonos que en los pies quebrados puede haber cinco sílabas cuando el verso que precede es agudo y así la primera del pie quebrado no entra en la cuenta, o 'va perdida,' como ellos dicen. Están ambos en error cuando nos declaran que la sílaba que sobra va perdida, pero tienen razón cuando declaran que no entra en la cuenta.³¹ En el caso de la sinalefa entre versos la sílaba inicial del pie quebrado se pierde en realidad, y por eso Juan del Encina y Nebrija no se daban cuenta de su existencia. Nebrija, al parecer, admitía en este caso, como en muchos otros de sinalefa ordinaria, la elisión completa de la primera vocal, según lo que nos dice en Capítulo VII de su *Gramática Castellana*.

En nuestra investigación sobre la sinalefa y la compensación entre versos en la poesía española nos hemos limitado a los casos evidentes que a nuestro ver no admiten discusión. Pero al llegar al fin de estos dos estudios preliminares debemos indicar que todavía hay muchísimos casos discutibles que no

³¹ Los pasajes de Juan del Encina y de Nebrija que a este problema se refieren son los siguientes (Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, tomo V, Madrid, 1894, páginas 42 para Juan del Encina y 63 para Nebrija):

"Ay otro genero de trobar que resulta de los sobredichos que se llama pie quebrado que es medio pie assi de arte real: son quatro silabas ó su equivalencia é éste suele trobar al pie quebrado mezclado con los enteros é a las vezes passan cinco silabas por medio pie é entonces dezimos que la una vá perdida assi como dixo don Jorge:

Como deuemos." [*Arte de Poesía Castellana*, Capítulo V.]

"Puede entrar este verso con medio pie perdido por el segundo presupuesto. e assi puede tener cinco silabas. Como don jorge Manrique.

Un constantino en la fe
Que mantenía.

Que mantenía tiene cinco sílabas, las cuales valen por cuatro, porque la primera no entra en la cuenta con las otras." [*Gramática Castellana*, Capítulo VIII.]

El caso que discute después Nebrija del Marqués de Santillana (Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, páginas 63-64),

Solo por aumentacion
De umanidad

es en realidad un ejemplo de compensación y sinalefa entre versos al mismo tiempo. La explicación de Nebrija, un poco obscura y vaga, viene a probar después de todo nuestro parecer:

"*De umanidad* tiene cuatro sílabas o valor dellas: porque entro con una perdida. e echo fuera la e. por el tercero presupuesto. e la ultima vale por dos: segun el cuarto."

hemos tratado porque no hemos querido complicar demasiado problemas tan poco comprendidos por la mayoría de los que a estos estudios se dedican. Los ejemplos de ambos casos se aumentarían notablemente si admitiésemos muchos casos que se pueden arreglar de otra manera, particularmente admitiendo sinalefas o sinéresis violentas en el pie quebrado. Un caso muy interesante es el de si debemos admitir compensación entre versos cuando hay que añadir la sílaba que sobra al principio del verso a un verso llano que precede. Este problema lo vamos a tratar en un estudio especial.

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THE DAUGHTER OF THE SUN

A STUDY IN DANTE'S MULTIPLE SYMBOLISM

"Così si fa la pelle bianca nera,
Nel primo aspetto della bella figlia
Di quei ch'apporta mane e lascia sera."

WITH these words, spoken immediately upon entering the heaven of the *Primum Mobile*, Beatrice concludes a comprehensive indictment of Cupidity as source of all evils on earth. It is a flood spiritually as devastating as that physical one from which only Noah and his family escaped. The continuous rain of it has rotted the fruits of man's good will. It is a witch's brew that has turned innocence into guilt. In fine, it has left black the once white skin of the daughter of the Sun.

This indictment follows description of the *Primum Mobile* as wholly involved in "light and love,"—the dual radiance, that is, of the divine Sun; and presently Dante sees the intense glory of that radiance reflected there upon the nine angelic orders. Eternally, then, in aspect first and last, the crystalline sphere and dome of the world is incandescent white; to it, God, the divine Sun, bringeth dawn and leaveth dawn; it knows no blackness of night. Spiritually, the prime motive of the *Primum Mobile* is "light intellectual full of love," or charity.

The immobile earth, on the contrary, is not so all and always kept white by its illumining sun, which "bringeth dawn and leaveth dusk." Dante has just had visible evidence of the inconstant aspects of earth. Looking from his place among the stars, and revolving at an interval with the sun, he has seen successive sectors of earth, white in their first aspect, left black as the sun's beam, like a giant searchlight, swept beyond them. To him, situated as he was, earth had shown such phases as the moon shows to observers on earth.

Because the moon derives her light from the sun she may be called figuratively *daughter of the sun*.¹ And so, on the same

¹ So Bonaventure, *Illuminationes Ecclesiae*, sermo xxii, prin^o.: "Luna est filia solis, et receipt lumen ab eo."

ground, may the earth. So, in their naked literalness, Beatrice's words about the daughter of the sun might merely draw parallel between the changes in human nature produced by Cupidity and those in the aspects of earth, when seen from afar, produced by the revolving sun. The phrase "primo aspetto" is a natural astronomical term such as Dante might have used to record scientifically the phenomena observed by him.

But his observations themselves were not casual. Beatrice commanded them, alleging also that being now "so near to the supreme weal," he should have "lights clear and keen."² Manifestly, she commands the observation for a purpose. But for all the clearness and keenness of his visual and mental lights, her pupil hardly profits much from what he sees—only a visible realization of the pettiness of the sphere of earth, and still more of that fragment of it we inhabit and is the "threshing-ground which makes us so ferocious."

The reflection is edifying, but rather trite. Moreover, Dante draws no inference at all from the changing details of his double observation, though he carefully records them. Indeed, to use a current scholastic distinction, he records a vision, a thing seen; but to interpret its meaning, to make it a revelation, there needs Beatrice.³ And such is her function, or that of her deputies, throughout the poem. Ever she has obtained for him, in dream or otherwise, visions, things seen; ⁴ commonly he has imperfectly or wrongly understood the meaning of these, and so erred; but now in paradise immediately adding interpretation to vision, she gives revelations as full as need be, *ad necessitatem*. Hence Dante's final thanks:

"Di tante cose quante io ho vedute,
Dal tuo potere e dalla tua bontate
Riconosco la grazia e la virtute."

He thanks her, that is, not for the things he has seen; for to his

² *Par.* xxii, 124-126.

³ On the distinction between *vision* and *revelation*, cf. Aquinas, *Ad II Cor.* xii, 1: "Revelatio includit visionem et non e converso; nam aliquando videntur aliqua, quorum intellectus et significatio est occulta videnti, et tunc est visio solum, sicut fuit visio Pharaonis et Nabuchodonosor, . . . sed quando cum visione habetur significatio et intellectus eorum, quae videntur, tunc est revelatio."

⁴ *Pg.* xxx, 133-135.

human judgment these might have given false and misleading lights. He thanks her for their "grace and efficacy" as due to her, their interpreter's, power and goodness.

Now naturally the interpretation must clearly attach itself to the vision needing it. And Dante employs various devices of attachment. Often a prophetic dream reveals the significance of an ensuing experience—such as he dreamed each night on the purgatorial mount. As he rises through paradise, however, his clearer insight justifies more direct and explicit explanation. So Beatrice had promised:

"Veramente oramai saranno nude
Le mie parole, quanto converrasi
Quelle scoprire alla tua vista rude."⁵

And fitly, her explanations follow immediately upon the enigmatic experiences.

It may fairly be asked, however, why, if her words next following Dante's vision of the far earth are designed to explain that vision, the explanation itself requires explanation. Is Beatrice keeping after all her promise to speak plainly?

Answer to this question lies in the educational idea that she has followed throughout with her, as he with his reader. This educational idea is contained in Dante's own maxim:

"Nasce per quello, a guisa di rampollo,
A piè del vero il dubbio; ed è natura,
Ch'al sommo pinga noi di collo in collo."⁶

Consequently, a good teacher in answering one question should provoke another, so keeping the pupil's mind alert and leading him step by step to more comprehensive knowledge.⁷

In the present instance, Beatrice's answer is to Dante's unspoken question when his gaze lifts from the mottled earth below his feet to the even whiteness about him of the *Primum Mobile*. She explains this white radiance as of the divine Sun of

⁵ Pg. xxxiii, 100-102. Beatrice's ministrations in the Earthly Paradise reflect symbolically Christ's ministrations on the earth, made a paradise of peace by Augustus. Her concluding promise of future plain-speaking corresponds to Christ's at the Last Supper—*John* xvi, 25.

⁶ *Par.* iv, 130-132.

⁷ For the method in action, see *Par.* xi, 25-27.

"light and love," whereas the blackening of earth is due to divine love's opposite, cupidity. She has silently passed over from the literal to the figurative, interpreting the physical darkening of the earth, which Dante saw, as the spiritual darkening of the inhabitants of the earth, which of course Dante could not see. Moreover, speaking in the *Primum Mobile*, she implies absolute contrast between its motivation of charity, the ardor of the Seraphim its movers, and the motivation of "the present life of wretched mortals" on earth, which is cupidity.

Naturally, then, in this figurative context a corresponding figurative meaning attaches to "the daughter of him that bringeth dawn and leaveth dusk." As hinted indeed in the next following words, this daughter of the sun no longer is the earth-sphere, but becomes the earth-people, the "human family." And this signification has, as commonly stated by commentators, the warrant of Aristotle in a passage quoted by Dante himself.⁸ Beatrice's statement would then read: So mankind's skin, white at first (*nel primo aspetto*), is made black.

Such is Dante's philosophy of history. Mankind began well—with unfallen Adam; but has become utterly depraved. There have been, of course, breaks in the long process of degradation, new partial starts "white" in innocence—like that in Eden. Greatest of all these fresh starts is of course that made possible by the crucified Christ; and next those inaugurated by holy men in imitation of the Savior. But all these regenerating movements, individual or collective, so "white" in their inception, sooner or later by cupidity were made "black." The lamentation of one disappointed reformer, St. Benedict, may serve for all, and it ends in the same figure as Beatrice's:

"La carne dei mortali è tanto blanda
 Che giù non basta buon cominciamento
 Dal nascer della quercia al far la ghianda.
 Pier cominciò senz'oro e senza argento,
 Ed io con orazioni e con digiuno,
 E Francesco umilmente il suo convento.
 E se guardi il principio di ciascuno,
 Poscia riguardi la dov'è trascorso,
 Tu vederai del bianco fatto bruno."⁹

⁸ *Mon.* I, ix, 4-10.

⁹ *Par.* xxii, 85-93.

The reason for this continual backsliding, these successive blackenings of the naturally white skin of the daughter of the sun, both physical and spiritual, lies not with the generality of mankind, whose will is good.¹⁰ The fault is with mankind's leaders, or with the want of leadership.¹¹ Now of all guides for earthly creatures the most constant and reliable is the sun, the

"pianeta

Che mena dritto altrui per ogni calle." ¹²

By it our way is lit; by it our eyes have sight. It is a symbol, therefore, of all right leadership from that of God down. And to follow the sun's course is to follow the right course.

In his two observations of earth from his place in the constellation of Gemini Dante had in a double sense been following the sun. He had been revolving along with it in its diurnal course, and he had been following the pathway of its radiance on earth. The direction followed was of course from East to West. Furthermore, Dante says that he was "a sign and more" behind the sun.¹³ If, as is permissible and for the symbolism probable, we take "a sign and more" to mean a sign and a half, or 45°, he saw at his first observation the earth illumined from the farthest habitable East to Rome, and at his second observation from Jerusalem to halfway between Gibraltar and the Mount of Purgatory. These so highly significant terminals certainly suggest a symbolic intention, to which a possible hint is offered by the following passage from St. Bonaventure.¹⁴ "The mutability of things is shown in this, that those things which preeminently encircle the world, to wit wisdom and power, began in the East, and traversed the habitable earth as far as the West, as a sign that all things progress to their setting (*ad occasum*). For the study of wisdom began in Egypt, was then in Greece, thereafter at Rome, and finally in France and England. Similarly, kingdoms were first in the East, later in Greece, later with the Romans; now the power of empire resides in Germany."

¹⁰ *Par.* xxvii, 124. Cf. also Marco's testimony—*Pg.* xvi, 85 ff.

¹¹ *Pg.* xvi, 103-105; *Par.* xxvii, 139-151.

¹² *Inf.* i, 17-18.

¹³ *Par.* xxvii, 86-87.

¹⁴ *Compendium theologicarum veritatis*, lib. II, cap. x. Of course, a compendium would present only accepted facts. It is not at all contended that Dante had read this particular statement of them.

As, then, the *Primum Mobile* is "encircled by light and love," so earth is "encircled by wisdom and power";¹⁵ and in Dante's symbolism all wisdom is from the light-ray of the divine Sun, all power from its heat, or love. Therefore there is right rule or guidance on earth in that part or person reflecting the divine Sun, trinity of Power, Wisdom, Love; and as if by pre-established harmony the course of that reflected ideal radiance corresponds with the progressive illumination of his "daughter," as Dante observes her, by the physical sun, he who "bringeth dawn and leaveth dusk," in his circling

"per tutto l'arco
Che fa dal mezzo al fine il primo clima."

The divine Sun radiates its glory always and everywhere more or less;¹⁶ but Dante is presently concerned only with the illumination which makes for right rule and guidance, lacking which "the human family goes astray." There is need, as he explains at length in his essay on Monarchy,¹⁷ of double rule and guidance, temporal and spiritual. Logically, the temporal need is first; since mankind needs the outward peace of justice to win the inward peace of charity.¹⁸ It would be appropriate, therefore, if Dante's first observation carried a revelation concerning temporal governance; his second one concerning spiritual governance. In his first observation the range of visibility is, on the premises assumed, from the far East to Rome, lying, as Dante believed, 45° West of Jerusalem. In his second, the range is from Jerusalem to well on the way towards the purgatorial Mount, which is antipodal to Jerusalem.

Now as Bonaventure says, the actual—and supposedly predestined—march of temporal empire was from far East to Rome, and later to Germany. For Dante, however, the westward progress should have halted at Rome. German dominion was an usurpation as ruinous to the world as Constantine's inverse error of making the empire again "Greek." The Germans carried the Eagle into the shadow beyond the sun's illumination;

¹⁵ The parallelism of the two phrases "d'un cerchio lui comprende" and "mundus amplectitur" is interesting.

¹⁶ *Par.* i, 1-3.

¹⁷ Especially, III, xvi.

¹⁸ Cf. *Mon.* I, iv.

Constantine had "turned the Eagle back against the course of the sun."¹⁹

Rome temporally ruling, the *pax Romana* established, the right condition precedent obtained for the spiritual rule of the Church, her guidance leads from Jerusalem, place of Christ's Passion, to the Gate of Probation on the Mount of Purgatory. So in his second observation, himself set on the meridian of Rome, Dante sees the second illumination of the sun to extend at least far enough beyond the barrier Pillars of Hercules to mark the way to the Mount.

Thus the vision obtained for him by Beatrice becomes another confirmatory revelation of the supreme message she throughout, personally and through many coadjutors, has commanded him to deliver "for sake of the world that evil lives."²⁰ In the light of the revelation, the interpreted vision, Dante's literal descriptive words take on a secondary meaning fitting the deeper context. He had said that at his first observation he saw *all* the threshing-ground that makes us so ferocious, from hills to mouths. As has been often pointed out, he could not have had at any one moment this comprehensive survey of the whole habitable earth included between the Caucasus mountains on the North and the mouths of Ganges and Ebro East and West. This whole would have come into view only gradually, as he revolved with the sun. But his first survey would have included from certain "hills" to certain "mouths,"—a transit of supreme importance for the temporal redemption of Christendom. This transit is from the "hills" of Ida, whence "issued first" the Roman Eagle,²¹ to the two "mouths" of the Tiber, river of Rome, its destined eyry. And precisely because the Eagle has been kept from its eyry has Christendom become a threshing-ground of ferocity. Also, had the "sacred Bird" been suffered to keep watch from its eyry of Rome, many a redeemed soul might have embarked from Tiber's mouths which instead sank to the dread bank of Acheron.²²

Again, Dante had said that at his second observation he had

¹⁹ *Par.* vi, 1 ff. Cf. *Par.* xx, 55-60.

²⁰ *Pg.* xxxii, 103. Cf. *Pg.* xxxiii, 52-54.

²¹ *Par.* vi, 6.

²² Cf. *Pg.* xxv, 85-87.

seen some distance along Ulysses' mad track from near the shore where Europa was made sweet burden. Ulysses' track led to the Mount of Purgatory. It was mad for him lacking the light and leading of the divine Sun, but made safe for the soul conveyed thither by God's angel. Europa was made sweet burden for Jove on the Phoenician shore. Europa gave her name to Europe,²³ and for Dante Europe was coextensive with actual Christendom. Actually also, Europe, or Christendom, was made "sweet burden" for the divine Jove, Christ, at Jerusalem, which is near the Phoenician shore.²⁴ And that divine sacrifice it was that made the "track" "mad" for Ulysses, the wisdom of Paganism, secure for Christians, those standing, as Dante now is, upon imperial and holy Rome.

Illumined for universal rule, temporal and spiritual,²⁵ Rome now becomes fitly the Daughter of the Sun.²⁶ And that divine Sun, withdrawing into its higher heaven, yet left behind two vicarious Suns, Pope and Emperor, which should, each in its own sphere, continue to illumine the world from Rome. So already the spirit of Mark the Lombard has told Dante, but added that "the one has quenched the other."²⁷ That which brought dawn has left dusk. Rome's skin, white in the first aspect, is turned black. And the cause is the cupidity of the Papacy, corrupted by Constantine's fatal gift.²⁸

This symbolism is also enriched by significant correspondences of place and time. The guiding and saving light of Christ's Passion was shed over the habitable world from its

²³ Cf. Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, lib. XIV, iv, 1 (Ed. W. M. Lindsay, Oxford, 1911): "Europa quippe Agenoris regis Libyae filia fuit, quam Jovis ab Africa raptam Cretam advexit, et partem tertiam orbis ex eius nomine appellavit."

²⁴ With this image of Christ bearing the burden of the Christian world cf. that of him as Griffin drawing the "blessed burden" (*benedetto carico*) of his Church—Pg. xxxii, 26. Note also that the word *carco* is made an identical rhyme-word connecting the two passages.

²⁵ Cf. *Inf.* ii, 13-30.

²⁶ Dante had authority for the image. Bonaventure writes: "Roma . . . universalis est. Ideo 'civitas Solis vocabitur una,' (*Isaiah* xix, 18) quia etsi aliae quatuor sedes plenam auctoritatem habent super ecclesiis partialibus, sola tamen Roma universaliter, sicut Sol super planetas, habet plenitudinem potestatis super omnes." *Illuminationes Ecclesiae*, sermo xxii, med°.

²⁷ Pg. xvi, 106-109.

²⁸ *Inf.* xix, 115-117 et al.

center, Jerusalem.²⁹ Conceived as physical light, the glory of the Passion illumined the habitable earth—the hemisphere of which Jerusalem is the center—exactly as the sun would at its meridian over Jerusalem at the vernal equinox. At the time of Dante's first observation the sun was in that position and season;³⁰ and he describes the beneficent moment as when the sun rises from the point of conjunction of "four circles with three crosses." The astronomical fact may yield a symbolic meaning. The Gospels, says Rabanus Maurus, are signified by the "four golden circles" of *Exodus* xv, 12; and they converge, or meet in, the Passion, that is, the three Crosses on Calvary.³¹

His own light withdrawn into heaven, Christ set his two vicarious Suns, Pope and Emperor, on the meridian of Rome, center as Rome is of Europe, that is, of the sphere of Christendom. So Beatrice, Dante's "Christ," or savior, shows him at the end of his transit following the sun himself set at the meridian of Rome—and Florence. Reflecting her light, he himself has become a sun of light and guidance for the "garden of the empire," his native land. Also, falling perpendicularly upon it, his ray of grace becomes thereby a saving one. For, as Bonaventure says, "teachers of perspective say, that if a perpendicular ray fall upon a smooth and polished body, necessarily by the same path and pace it is reflected back to its source; but not so a ray of incidence. The influx of grace-given-gratis is as the ray of incidence; the influx of grace-making-acceptable is as the perpendicular ray."³² Finally, as Christ's saving Passion took place at the end of the sixth hour, so Dante's saving position is reached at the end of the sixth hour of his transit with his natal stars. The sixth hour is the midday hour, and it is at the midday hour of his earthly transit, "nel mezzo del cammin," that the great saving vision recorded in the "sacred poem" is vouchsafed to him.

Cause, as has been said, of the blackening of the Daughter of

²⁹ "... quia virtus passionis ejus ad totum mundum diffundenda erat, in medio terrae habitabilis pati voluit, id est Hierusalem." Aquinas, *Summa theol.* III, xlvi, 10, ad 1.

³⁰ *Par.* xxvii, 79-81; i, 37-45.

³¹ *Allegoriae in s. Script.*, s. n. *circulus*. Migne, CXII, 896.

³² *Illuminationes Ecclesiae*, ii.

the Sun is Cupidity. Above all, in Dante's view, guilt lies with the cupidity of the Papacy, blooded as it had been with the baleful sop of Constantine's Donation. As after the sop given to Judas, so into the "first rich father" had entered Satan. The "white" charity which should inspire Christ's Vicar has turned to its opposite, "black" cupidity. The representative of the Lamb has been changed into a Wolf, the *Lupa* that held up Dante in the Dark Wood. For actually, it was the embruted Pope who plotted Dante's downfall.³³ And the Wolf takes on human form in the Harlot, or "*Lupa*," who usurps Beatrice's seat on the Car of the Church after its monstrous transformation.³⁴

Now by first intention this Harlot manifestly reflects the apocalyptic Whore of Babylon with her "cup of abominations," by which witch-brew she changes her innocent flock into her own wolfish likeness, so that it

"poi divora (con la lingua sciolta)
Qualunque cibo per qualunque luna." ³⁵

And by this black magic the Harlot of Rome becomes one in principle with the great Witch and Werwolf of antiquity, Circe "versipellis," ³⁶ Circe, "filia Solis."

Beatrice also works enchantments. By the "pasture" of his eyes upon her "blessed aspect," ³⁷ as Glaucus by his "tasting of the herb," Dante is "transhumanized," changed, as it were, to a god.³⁸ She is, in the symbolically pregnant sense of the word, a *white* witch, the spirit of charity, a "candor" born of the divine Sun, a Circe truly "pulcherrima." ³⁹ But the Circe who has dispossessed her is a *black* witch, the spirit of cupidity, born of a hot and intemperate Sun "of temptation." ⁴⁰ Her "pasture" "changes the natures" of men in the opposite direction. In-

³³ *Par.* xvii, 46-51.

³⁴ *Pg.* xxxii, 148 ff.

³⁵ *Par.* xxvii, 131-132.

³⁶ Arnobius, *Adversus gentes*, IV, xiv (Migne V, 1029).

³⁷ *Par.* xxi, 19-20.

³⁸ *Par.* i, 64 ff.

³⁹ Ovid, *Metam.* IV, 205.

⁴⁰ Among other things, notes Rabanus, the sun signifies "tentationis calor." *Allegorias*, etc., s. n. *Sol*.

stead of "transhumanizing" them into gods, it dehumanizes them into beasts.⁴¹

Thus, originally evoked by the physical phenomenon made visible to Dante of the sun's beam advancing like a spotlight over the surface of the earthball, bringing whiteness and leaving behind blackness, Beatrice's figurative pronouncement then seems to enmesh itself with various groups of symbols, developed from different, but in some respects cognate, metaphors—the whole complex meanwhile converging to one common message. Such is Dante's method of multiple symbolism. I would not pretend to have completely, or even so far as I have gone correctly, analyzed the complex in hand, but I hope at least to have indicated that when Dante affirmed so positively in his dedicatory-epistle to his patron that his allegorical poem was "polysemum, hoc est plurium sensuum," *polysemous, i.e. of many senses*, he meant it. Not only is his allegory as a total message multiple in carrying a dominantly political and personal, besides the obvious moral and religious or mystical, intention, but also the individual symbols and symbol-groups that taken together form the allegory are themselves multiple in their significance, crystals of metaphor of many facets. To recognize this plain fact, common to nearly all serious allegorical writing from the 4th to the 14th century—and after—is to avoid the endless quarrels between commentators seeking to assign a single and invariable significance to each character or other symbolic item of the *Comedy*. Of each live symbol it may be said:

"How true a twain
Seemeth this concordant one,"—

indeed, *How true a twenty*, perhaps!

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⁴¹ Cf. *Pg.* xiv, 40 ff. It may be noted that the word "pastura" always occurs in the *Comedy* as a rhyme-word, so serving as a clue to cross reference among passages bearing upon the transmutation symbol. Cf. *Pg.* ii, 125; xiv, 42; *Par.* v, 102; xviii, 74; xxi, 19; xxvii, 91.

MISCELLANEOUS

THE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ENEMY IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY SPANISH NARRATIVE POETRY

POEMS and Editions used in this paper arranged with abbreviated titles in the probable chronological order of composition:

Conquista de la Nueva Castilla (anonymous), published by J. A. Sprecher de Bernegg, Paris and León, Blanc and Co., 1848; *Segunda parte de Orlando*, Nicolás Espinosa, Antwerp, 1557; *La Carolea*, Hierónimo Sempere, Valencia, 1560; *Carlo famoso*, Luis Zapata, Valencia, 1565; *La Araucana*, Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga, B. A. E., vol. 17, Madrid, 1905; *Felicitísima victoria concedida del cielo en el golfo de Lepanto*, Hierónimo Corte-Real, Lisbon, 1578; *Hechos del Cid*, Diego Jiménez Ayllón, Alcalá de Henares, 1579; *La Austriada*, Juan Rufo, B. A. E., vol. 29, Madrid, 1864; *El León de España*, Pedro de la Vezilla Castellanos, Salamanca, 1586; *Historia del Monserrate*, Cristóbal de Virués, B. A. E., vol. 17, Madrid, 1905; *Cortés valeroso o la Mexicana*, Gabriel Lasso de la Vega, Madrid, 1588, 2d ed., 1594; *Elegias de varones ilustres de Indias*, Juan de Castellanos, B. A. E., vol. 4, Madrid, 1874; *La conquista en el reino de Granada*, Duarte Díaz, Madrid, 1590; *Las Navas de Tolosa*, Cristóbal de Mesa, Madrid, 1594; *Arauco domado*, Pedro de Oña, B. A. E., vol. 29, Madrid, 1864; *La Araucana, Cuarta y quinta parte*, Diego de Santisteban Osorio, 3d. ed., Madrid, 1735; *La Dragontea*, Lope de Vega, *Obras sueltas*, Madrid, 1776, vol. 3; *Las guerras de Malta y toma de Rodas*, Diego de Santisteban Osorio, Madrid, 1599; *El Peregrino indiano*, Antonio de Saavedra Guzmán, Madrid, 1599; *Argentina, y conquista del Río de la Plata*, Martín del Barco Centenera, Madrid, 1749; *Conquista de la Bética*, Juan de la Cueva, *Poesías castellanas*, Madrid, 1801, vols. 14 and 15; *El Bernardo*, Bernardo de Valbuena, B. A. E., vol. 17, Madrid.¹

¹ These are the only sixteenth century poems dealing with historical subjects that the author has been able to consult. It is hoped at some future time to add material from a few poems at present inaccessible and to proceed with the poems of the seventeenth century. The author hopes also later to study the sources of the poems. As the editions consulted represent widely differing dates and styles of

The sixteenth century enemies of Spain may be divided into four groups: *Catholics*, represented by the Italians, Portuguese, and French; *Protestants*, represented by the Germans, Dutch, and English; *Mohammedans*, represented by the Moors and Turks; and the *Indians* of the New World.

I. CATHOLICS

Among Catholic enemies the French are the most prominent. Slight attention is paid by the narrative poets to the Italians and Portuguese as enemies. Enmity with France centers about two historical periods—the time of Charlemagne and the sixteenth century. The principal authorities are:

Espinosa and Valbuena—Battle of Roncesvalles; Zapata and Sempere—Wars between Francis I and Charles V; Ercilla—Capture of Saint Quentin.

Wars between Spain and France seemed to the Spanish poets a natural result of the proximity of two high-spirited peoples:

“Porque de enemistad causa bastante
A los hombres de ahora es ser vecinos.”²

Zapata represents a Frenchwoman as saying to some Spanish knights:

“Que vos siendo de aquéllos, que me han muerto
Mi bien, vos Español, y yo Francesa,
Podíamos hacer juntos mal concierto,
Contrarios siendo habido en una empresa.”³

Again:

“Por todo el mundo pues corrió la fama,
Que los dos poderosos de la tierra,
Por el Imperio humano, y por su fama
Habían de pelear, que tenían guerra.”⁴

printing, the spelling of titles and quotations throughout the article, except in a few special cases, has been made to conform to modern standards. The punctuation of the originals has usually been followed, but a few changes have been made. By these means greater consistency is obtained. If it had been possible in each case to consult the original edition, it might have been better to reproduce the original printing. In an article of this kind, it is the sense of the quotation, and not its exact form, that is important.

² *Carlo famoso*, canto XLVII, folio 258, stanza 14.

³ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 182, 9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XXI, 115, 18.

Espinosa, Valbuena, and other poets tried to add to the glory of contemporary Spain by describing the victory of Roncesvalles. Valbuena attributed to Charlemagne the desire for universal monarchy. This desire was not an unnatural one, according to Valbuena, and might well have succeeded, had not destiny reserved for Spain the post of honor as mistress of the world.⁵

Blame for the wars between France and Spain in the sixteenth century is imputed to the French. Sempere describes the French as belligerent and quarrelsome. Zapata charges the French, and particularly Francis I, with inordinate ambition and with envy of Charles V. He describes how Satan sent the spirit of envy to Francis to stir his natural desire for honor and fame and to make him take arms against Charles.⁶

Zapata showed a greater detestation of war than the other narrative poets. He thought it particularly unfortunate that wars should take place between Christian princes who ought to unite against the Turks.⁷

On the whole, the attitude of the Spanish poets toward the French is generous. Zapata describes the honor paid to the body of Bayard.⁸ Valbuena describes as follows the city of Paris:

"Está en medio de Francia París puesta,
Ciudad insigne, corte populosa,
De edificios bellísimos compuesta,
En letras y armas clara y poderosa;"⁹

Recognition is given to French courage, chivalry, and humanity. Chivalrous feelings and actions between Frenchmen and Spaniards are considered natural and proper. Sempere thus describes an ideal state of friendship:

"... los Imperios dos preclaros
Despaña y de la Francia, y sus reinados:
Enrique con Felipe, Reyes raros,
Miro reinando en paz confederados."¹⁰

⁵ *Bernardo*: cantos I, II, III are full of references to French pride and ambition; details of the Roncesvalles matter are here omitted.

⁶ *Carlo famoso*, cantos XX and XXI.

⁷ Cf. also Corte-Real's *Lepanto*, canto IX, folio 120.

⁸ *Carlo famoso*, XX, 108, 3.

⁹ *Bernardo*, XIII, stanza 21.

¹⁰ *Carolea*, V, 62, 2.

Zapata describes the good treatment of Francis I after the battle of Pavia.¹¹ Mesa describes the French in terms of praise.¹² Obviously, France was regarded as an honorable, spirited enemy, and as the country most nearly equal to Spain. Bravery, chivalry, humanity, power, military spirit were all present in the French to an extent unrivaled outside of Spain. While some writers believed in the eventual absorption of the whole world by Spain, others looked forward to a state of peace between France and Spain as between equals. The worst qualities ascribed to the French of the sixteenth century were ambition and envy, prevalent at a time when the Christian world ought to have united against the Turks. However, the same poets who sang of Spanish military glory could not entirely disapprove of ambitious projects in another nation. It is true that through the Spanish poems there run feelings of pride and superiority, but one would not expect humility on the part of imperialistic writers.

II. PROTESTANTS

References to Luther and his followers are invariably unflattering. The religious hatred toward the Protestants on the part of the Spanish poets is second only to their destestation of the Mohammedans. Sempere groups together the danger threatening Charles V from Turkey and from Protestant Germany. Zapata describes Luther's persistence as madness, and states that despite all of Charles's efforts he could not cure him.¹³ His attitude is illustrated in the following quotation:

"De otra parte parido había Alemaña
Un año antes de aquesto un monstruo fiero,"¹⁴

At the very end of the *Austriada* Rufo refers to the ominous spread of Lutheranism in the north. Lasso de la Vega balances the revolt of Luther with the conquest of Mexico:

"Que fué en el año mismo que Lutero,
Monstruo contra la Iglesia horrible y fiero."¹⁵

There is no detailed treatment of the relations between Spain

¹¹ *Carlo famoso*, XXV.

¹² *Navas de Tolosa*, I, stanza 72.

¹³ *Carlo famoso*, VI, 29, 2-18, describing the Diet of Worms.

¹⁴ *Carlo famoso*, III, 10, 12.

¹⁵ *Mexicana*, XXIII, 259, 1.

and the German Protestants. The Protestants of the Netherlands are described in some rare poems.¹⁶ Passing references in other poems to the rebellious Flemings show resentment with a touch of pity for the hopelessness of the rebels' cause.

Of the Protestant enemies of Spain in the sixteenth century, the most formidable in war was England. General references to England are scattered throughout the poems:

"No hablo ya en Britania que del todo
Corrupta ciega está, desatinada."¹⁷

Valbuena has a generous appreciation of England:

"Es reino ilustre, rico y belicoso,
De gente afable, humana, y sus banderas
Temor del gran Océano espantoso
Serán en las edades venideras:"¹⁸

Descriptions of strife between Spain and England are limited to the disturbances caused in the Spanish colonies by English freebooters or adventurers. The best sources are:

Lope de Vega's *Dragonetea*—Drake's last voyage and death, and the defeat of Richard Hawkins; Barco Centenera—Drake's expedition around the world and Sir Thomas Cavendish's plundering party in Argentina; Pedro de Oña—Capture of Sir Richard Hawkins.

The English are accused of piracy, cruelty, covetousness or avarice, treachery, sacrilege and irreligion. References to the English as pirates are frequent. Lope de Vega calls Drake a "protestante pirata de Escocia,"¹⁹ and he calls Hawkins "el cosario pirata famoso."²⁰ In a reference to Henry VIII, Lope says:

"¿Qué Átila, qué Varanes igualaron
A Henrico Octavo, cuya muerte lloro?
Y cuyas manos fieras acabaron
Aquel mártir Tomás Cristiano y Moro:"²¹

¹⁶ Miguel Giner, *Sitio y toma de Amberes* and B. de Vargas, *Alva*. Neither of these poems has been accessible to the writer.

¹⁷ *Lepanto*, I, folio 4.

¹⁸ *Bernardo*, XVI, 41.

¹⁹ *Dragonetea*, I, stanza 2.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 43.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, 21.

Elsewhere Lope describes the torture inflicted by the English upon an old Spaniard to make him give them information. Lope also complains of the burning of Nombre de Dios by the English contrary to custom; and without affirming its truth, mentions a story that Drake had a compact with the devil.²² However, cruel as the deeds of Drake and others were, they were no worse than deeds whose performance by the Spaniards in other wars is admitted by the poets. When we come to the vices of covetousness, sacrilege, and heresy, a much stronger case against the English is presented. The last stanza of the first canto of the *Dragonlea* ends as follows:

"Al arma, al arma, al oro, al oro, Draque,
Si hay tanto junto que la tuya [codicia] aplaque."

In the fifth canto of the *Dragonlea* there is reference after reference to the English thirst for gold. In fact, Lope's whole poem is written upon the supposition that the English government and English subjects coveted the wealth of the Indies and tried unjustly to appropriate it. Barco Centenera describes similarly a lust for riches in Drake and his followers:

"Aquesta fué la presa más famosa,
Y robo, que jamás hizo cosario,
Su hambre tan canina, y tan rabiosa,
De plata bien hartó aqueste adversario:"²³

The Spanish poets were not unwilling to admit the sack of cities and robbery on the part of Spaniards, as the natural consequences of war and battle. The thefts committed by the English freebooters seemed worse only because they did not have the justification of formal war. However, when avarice led to sacrilege, such as the sacking of Catholic churches, the Spaniards could not condone it. That they were not altogether inconsistent is shown by the horror of Zapata over the sack of Rome by Spanish soldiers under the Constable of Bourbon. Lope de Vega is full of references to the profanation by the British of holy places. The sacrilegious deeds of Thomas Cavendish and his followers are described by Barco Centenera:

²² *Dragonlea*, IX, 7 ff.

²³ *Argentina*, XXII, 19.

"Saltó el Inglés en tierra, y al poblado
Llegó con furia cruel, y repentina,
Y como le ha hallado despoblado,
Con su rabia diabólica, y maligna
A una Santa Cruz ha escopetado," ²⁴

The Spanish horror at sacrilege is only one phase of their religious enmity. Again and again the poets denounce their island enemies as followers of Luther. Pedro de Oña calls the English "los enemigos de las cruces" ²⁵ and "los sueltos luteranos." ²⁶

In the course of the *Dragontea*, Lope refers to Drake's craftiness. He accuses him of gaining victories by ambushes and in poorly defended places. ²⁷

Even Lope de Vega, with all his bitterness, does not upon occasion withhold praise from his foes. Almost no attempt is made to show that the English were cowards. In the second canto of the *Dragontea*, Lope recognizes that Richard Hawkins had a powerful motive for his expedition, in that he desired to avenge the defeat of his father John Hawkins. Richard is little affected by the pleas of his wife who warns him of the danger from Spanish heroism. His bravery is shown in the following lines:

"Sabe el Virrey que es una vela sola,
Y quiere combatir a la Española." ²⁸

Pedro de Oña attributes to Richard Hawkins a goodly sprinkling of excellent qualities with some bad ones:

"Así el audaz pirata se decía,
Y Aquines por blasón, de clara gente,
Mozo, gallardo, próspero, valiente,
De proceder hidalgo en cuanto hacía;
Y acá, según moral filosofía,
Dejando lo que allá su ley consiente,

²⁴ *Argentina*, XXVI, stanza 18: horror at British devastation of holy places is found throughout canto XXVII.

²⁵ *Arauco domado*, XVIII, 47.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XVIII, 55.

²⁷ Lope de Vega also attacks the English in his poem on Mary, Queen of Scots, the *Corona trágica*.

²⁸ *Dragontea*, III, 15.

Afable, generoso, noble, humano,
No crudo, riguroso ni tirano."²⁹

The most remarkable tribute to an Englishman is that of Barco Centenera to Drake:

"No es justo al enemigo, que tenemos,
Celalle sus hazañas, y sus hechos,
Ni dejar de decir lo que sabemos,
Que imbidia es el quitalle sus derechos:
Y más que en esta historia pretendemos
A la verdad mirar, no a los provechos,
Ni vanas pretensiones, pues la nuestra
Es daros, mi Señor, de verdad muestra.

.

Aqueste Inglés, y noble caballero
Al arte de la mar era inclinado,
Más era que piloto, y marinero,
Porque era caballero, y buen soldado,
Astuto era, sagaz, y muy artero,
Discreto, cortesano, y bien criado,
Magnánimo, valiente, y animoso,
Afable, y amigable, y generoso."³⁰

This is unusual from an enemy to one who had done incalculable harm to the Spaniards, and who was with considerable reason regarded as a pirate. It is true that after these remarks Barco Centenera proceeds to take Drake to task for avarice, heresy, and other crimes, but he is clearly trying to show both sides of the matter.

III. MOHAMMEDANS

1. *The Moors*

Several narrative poems deal with the Moors of the centuries between the first invasion of Spain and the capture of Granada. During the sixteenth century are to be considered the Moors under Spanish rule, and the independent Moors of northern Africa. The poets that deal with the earlier periods are:

Vezilla Castellanos—The first attempts at reconquest; Valbuena—Incidental references; Espinosa—Incidental references; Ayllón—The career of the Cid; Cueva—The conquest of Seville;

²⁹ *Arasuco domado*, XVIII, 41.

³⁰ *Argentina*, XXII, 1 and 3.

Mesa—The battle of Navas de Tolosa; Díaz—The conquest of Granada.

The Moorish invasion of Spain was described as a punishment sent by God on account of the sins of Roderick and other Goths. During the first centuries of their dominion in Spain the Moors, even in retrospect, receive the loathing visited by a weak people upon a more powerful one. They are accused of cruelty. The basis for hatred is political at least as much as it is religious. In later centuries when Moorish fortunes are declining, fear is replaced by contempt. Religious hatred becomes stronger and is more prominent than political jealousy, although the latter is evident. Charges of cruelty are relatively less prominent and accusations of cowardice and inertia are more emphasized. Respect for Moorish power is gone, but there is an appreciation of courage in individual Moors. Fear of Moorish control of Spain is entirely lost; toward the end we notice even some examples of sympathy with the Moors for the loss of cities such as Granada and Seville. The poets regard the whole reconquest as ordained by Providence in the interests of the Christian religion. The Spanish conquerors are conceived to have operated in the spirit of crusaders. Religious hatred is everywhere prominent. On the whole it is remarkable that a considerable number of cases are found in which there is some spirit of fairness toward the Moors.³¹

The *Austriada*, by Juan Rufo, deals with the Moors who lived in Spain in political dependence in the sixteenth century. The first eighteen cantos of this poem describe the Moorish rebellion of 1568-1571. The general attitude is similar to that in the accounts of the latter stages of Moorish sovereignty in Spain—religious hatred and contempt for a foe no longer able to struggle with Spain on something like equal terms. Many opprobrious epithets against the Moors are used by Rufo. Many expressions of dislike on religious grounds, many charges of cruelty, cowardice, and treachery are discovered. Spanish cruelty is admitted, but is tempered now and then by a policy of clemency.

³¹ It is hoped in the future to publish details of the attitude here summarized. The material is abundant. A brief summary is given here, because the treatment is not of contemporary enemies.

A new element in Rufo's poem is the treatment of the causes that led to the revolt of the Moors. It is admitted that there has been more or less unrest ever since the conquest of Granada. Despite contempt and hatred for the Moors, Rufo apparently tried to discuss dispassionately their reasons for revolution.

An account of the capture of Orán by Cardinal Ximénez is inserted as a vision in Osorio's continuation of the *Araucana*. The episode occupies two cantos. Osorio suggests the aims of the cardinal in the following words spoken by the Moorish general to his followers:

"Ya veis al enemigo en vuestra tierra,
Que otra cosa ninguna no procura,
Que tomarla en sangrienta, y fiera guerra."²²

Cardinal Ximénez accuses the Moors of shamelessness, insolence, ambition, and trouble-making. The Moorish general holds up to his followers the sweetness of fame, of liberty, and of their religion.²³

2. The Turks

On religious grounds, there is no difference to note in the attitude of the Spanish poets toward the Turks and the Moors. But outside of religion there are distinctions which correspond to the peculiar relations toward Spain of the Turks and Moors respectively. The Turks were not hereditary enemies of the Spaniards in the same sense that the Moors were. Remote geographical position resulted in little direct contact between the two peoples except in war. In the sixteenth century the Moors of Spain were a beaten and despised race, and the Moors of northern Africa, although they could annoy Spain by depredations at sea and by assisting Spain's enemies, were not regarded as a menace to national existence or even to national prosperity. On the other hand the Turks were regarded with the liveliest alarm by all Christian nations. There are references in the Spanish poets to the importance of opposing the Ottoman advance, and also of invading the enemy territory and capturing Jerusalem. One of the most notable references to this subject is the vision of the holy city revealed to Charles V when he was

²² Osorio's *Araucana*, part 5, VIII, 94.

²³ *Ibid.*, part 5, IX.

urged by a German embassy to undertake a species of Crusade against the Turks.³⁴ Fear of Turkish domination is evident in the importance ascribed to the battle of Lepanto and in the joy and relief attendant upon that great victory. Of all the events of Spanish history not one was considered by the poets to be more glorious than the battle of Lepanto. We have a poem by Corte-Real devoted exclusively to the campaign that terminated in Lepanto; the last six cantos of Rufo's epic on Don John of Austria are devoted to the same theme, and Ercilla, in the midst of his *Araucana*, inserts a vision of the great sea battle. In the fourth canto of the *Monserate*, Virués also inserts a vision of the battle. In the dedication of Corte-Real's poem to Philip II, we find the battle described as "un caso tan grande, una victoria tan peregrina: y con razón tan espantosa a todo el mundo." In the body of the poem Corte-Real emphasizes several times the great significance of Lepanto:

"Un caso famosísimo admirable:
Una victoria al mundo extraña y nueva:
Un suceso felice jamás visto
En trances arriscados y sangrientos,
Canto con alta voz, canto la fuerza,
El ímpetu furioso, osado, y fiero
De la Cristiana gente, el vencimiento
De la armada Otomana, aquí rendida." ³⁵

Virués calls Lepanto "La victoria mayor que el mundo sabe."³⁶ Aside from the battle of Lepanto, the poets dealing wholly or partly with the Turks are as follows:

Zapata—Incidental references; Sempere—Incidental references; Osorio—The Capture of Rhodes.

To the Turks are attributed the defects of cowardice, cruelty, envy, and pride. The accusations of cowardice are comparatively few and somewhat vague. Zapata writes that the Turks did not dare to give battle to Charles V in Hungary.³⁷ In discussing the same situation Sempere describes the fear of certain Turkish soldiers who had to be beaten by their officers.³⁸

³⁴ *Carolea*, part 2, XII and XIII.

³⁵ *Lepanto*, I, 1; similar passages occur in other cantos.

³⁶ *Monserate*, IV, 41.

³⁷ *Carlo famoso*, XXXV.

³⁸ *Carolea*, part 2, XVI.

Sempere states also, in agreement with Zapata, that the Turkish host fled when they heard of the organization and strength of Charles's army.³⁹

The Turks are charged by the Spanish poets with inhuman cruelty. Sempere's worst accusations occur toward the end of his poem where he says the Turkish Sultan wished the reputation "De no dejar en pie tierras ni gentes" ⁴⁰ and adds that he cut the throats of four thousand Christian captives.⁴¹ Zapata makes similar charges:

"No se ha hecho jamás cosa tan cruda,
Ni nadie ensangrentó tanto las manos,
Ni por reinar violó tanto el derecho,
Como este Selín hizo, o crudo pecho." ⁴²

Again (A Turkish Pasha is the subject):

"Crueldades cometió como una fiera,
Los campos y los árboles talando,
Y haciendo de la tierra una hoguera." ⁴³

Corte-Real adds his accusations:

"Estaba Solimán duro adversario,
Universal tirano, crudo y fiero." ⁴⁴

Elsewhere Corte-Real denounces the Turks for sacrilege in desecrating a statue of the Virgin Mary.⁴⁵ Likewise Rufo accuses the Turks of sacrilegious mistreatment of the effigy of the Virgin.⁴⁶ Osorio adds his quota to the collection of acts of Turkish cruelty.⁴⁷

Envy and pride are natural qualities to attribute to a powerful enemy. The poets felt that one of the results of Turkish pride and power was the desire to conquer the world. Such an ambition is more than once assigned to the Turkish leaders. Soliman addresses to Charles V a vainglorious letter

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 2, XIX.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 2, XVII, 16.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 2, XVII, 27.

⁴² *Carlo famoso*, III, 10, 4.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, XXXV, 194, 17.

⁴⁴ *Lepanto*, VI, 88.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, VIII, 116.

⁴⁶ *Austriada*, XX, 86 ff.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Guerras de Malta*, VII, folio 82.

in which he calls himself the successor of the emperors of Constantinople.⁴⁸ Zapata gives us a more direct reference:

"Que como el ambicioso tenía puesto
En señorear el mundo, el pensamiento." ⁴⁹

Corte-Real, at the beginning of his poem on Lepanto, tells how the emperor Selim was timid and cared nothing about conquering the world. Corte-Real even calls this weakness. He describes how spirits come from hell to rouse Selim to a career of conquest against the Christians.⁵⁰ Corte-Real implies that the desire to subjugate the world was a natural one for a Turkish sultan.

With a combination of religious hatred and political competition we should not expect to find many instances of good feeling toward the Turks. We cannot even look for examples of comradeship and chivalric intercourse such as are noticeable in accounts of the Moors placed in the Middle Ages. However, from the great mass of hatred dictated by religious and racial prejudice, by fear, and by political jealousy, some instances of esteem and respect can be salvaged. There are some examples of Turkish justice. When Soliman marched upon Vienna he put to death a traitor who betrayed a town to him and rewarded the faithful man who defended it.⁵¹ Osorio describes an argument between the cruel Mustapha, who wished to kill Christian prisoners, and another Turkish leader Piali. Piali says:

"Por cierto, Mustafá, poca victoria,
En hecho tan injusto has alcanzado,
Y si piensas que así es mayor tu gloria,
Has de saber que estás muy engañado,
Que desta crueldad habrá memoria,
En cuanto diere luz el sol dorado,
Pues dirán que a los flacos muerte diste,
Porque vencer los fuertes no podiste." ⁵²

Zapata describes the same circumstance referred to by Sempre about punishing the traitor and sparing the enemy:

⁴⁸ *Carolea*, part 2, canto XV.

⁴⁹ *Carlo famoso*, XVIII, 94, 14.

⁵⁰ One among many examples where the infernal powers aid the enemies of Spain.

⁵¹ *Carolea*, part 2, I, 43.

⁵² *Guerras de Malta*, VII, 83, 4.

"Pero esto hizo bien el Turco fiero,
No en todas cosas cruel, no en todo injusto." ⁵³

Corte-Real also mentions instances of Turkish humanity. But of the good qualities allowed to the Turks the most conspicuous is courage. Despite some references to cowardice and especially to fear of Spain, there is acknowledgment of Turkish valor. The Turks must sometimes fight under the shadow of divine displeasure and unfavorable omens.⁵⁴ Nevertheless they face the issue with boldness. Osorio recognizes great valor in the Turkish general Ali Pasha.⁵⁵ Zapata refers to the Turks as "bravísimos guerreros." Sempere, Rufo, and Corte-Real add their tribute to courage, persistence, and might in the ranks of the foe.

One circumstance should here be mentioned that has not been touched upon in discussion of other enemies of Spain. That is the attribution of enormous forces to the enemy in order the more worthily to celebrate the exploits of the army of the fatherland. This is hardly noticeable in accounts of the French; it is not particularly stressed in relations with the English; it is evident in the accounts of wars with the Moors; but nowhere does it reach the extent shown in descriptions of contests with the Turks. In the first and second cantos of the second part of the *Carolea*, Sempere mentions the *innumerable* host of Turks as 300,000 men, and those of Charles V as a little more than 100,000.⁵⁶ In the poems on the battle of Lepanto, there is no obvious attempt to make the Turkish fleet very much greater than the Christian.

IV. AMERICAN INDIANS

The conquest of Mexico is narrated in the *Mexicana* by Lasso de la Vega, and in *El Peregrino indiano* by Saavedra Guzmán; the conquest of Peru in the anonymous *Conquista de la Nueva Castilla* and, as an episode, in Osorio's *Araucana*; the wars with the Araucanian Indians in Chile are set forth in Ercilla's *Araucana*, in Osorio's *Araucana*, and in Oña's *Arauco*

⁵³ *Carlo famoso*, XXXII, 175, 19.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Austriada*, canto XXII.

⁵⁵ *Guerras de Malta*, I, 4 and 5.

⁵⁶ *Carlo famoso*, XXXIV.

domado; later troubles in Chile are narrated in Álvarez de Toledo's *Purén indómilo*; the settlement of Argentina is the subject of Barco Centenera's *Argentina y la conquista del Río de la Plata*; miscellaneous adventures beginning with the discovery by Columbus are detailed in Juan de Castellanos's *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias*.

No better introduction can be found to the study of the Spanish attitude toward the Indians than the prologue to Ercilla's *Araucana*. The generous spirit of appreciation there exemplified set a standard for later poets. Ercilla was impressed by the fortitude of the Araucanians, and he made their leaders the central characters of his epic. There is comparatively little interest in the doings of individual Spaniards.⁸⁷ Making allowance for the fact that the poets sometimes exercised their rhetorical ingenuity to portray the heroism of their foes, and that eulogies of Indian patriotism, persistence and valor became conventional, it remains true that in Ercilla and his imitators are found some noble tributes to an enemy immeasurably inferior in civilization, arms, and resources.

As a horrible example the Spaniards cut off the hands of an Indian captive Galvarino. He offers them his throat with the following remark:

"Segad esa garganta
Siempre sedienta de la sangre vuestra;
Que no temo la muerte, ni me espanta
Vuestra amenaza y rigurosa muestra;
Y la importancia y pérdida no es tanta
Que haga falta mi cortada destra,
Pues quedan otras muchas esforzadas
Que saben gobernar bien sus espadas."⁸⁸

Galvarino is despatched to the Araucanian headquarters to counsel surrender, but he exhorts to battle. He says that the Spaniards are hypocritical when they claim that they wish to spread the Christian religion; what they want is gold; they are more guilty than other races of adultery, theft, and insolence.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Ercilla's grudge against the Spanish commander García Hurtado de Mendoza is well known, and accounts partly, but only partly, for the prominence of the Indians.

⁸⁸ *Araucana*, XXII, 47.

⁸⁹ A still stronger denunciation of the Spaniards is found in Álvarez de Toledo's *Purén indómilo*.

When the Spaniards finally put Galvarino to death, he continues to the last obdurate and heroic, and chides one of his comrades who shows signs of weakening. He addresses his executioners as follows:

"¡Oh gentes fermentidas, detestables,
Indignas de la gloria deste día!
Hartad vuestras gargantas insaciables
En esta aborrecida sangre mía:
Que aunque los fieros hados variables
Trastornen la araucana monarquía,
Muertos podremos ser, mas no vencidos
Ni los ánimos libres oprimidos." ⁶⁰

Rengo, Tucapel and Ormpel refuse to attack the Spaniards by stealth. Here, of course, chivalrous qualities are assigned to them as if they were knights of the Round Table or of Charlemagne's court.

Osorio ascribes to the Indian heroes the same kind of desperate courage and determination noticed in the preceding examples from Ercilla. One example chosen from a great number will suffice. Millalauco, like Galvarino, has been tortured by the Spaniards. He defies them unhesitatingly, and among other things says:

"Vuestro enemigo soy, y aquí delante,
Ya sin respecto, y sin temor lo digo,
Ninguna cosa puede ser bastante,
A no llamarme vuestro enemigo;
Y lo que tengo dicho no os espante,
Que pongo al Cielo Santo por testigo,
Que la pena que llevo es por miraros,
Y no poder vengarme, y acabaros." ⁶¹

Pedro de Oña likewise attributes to the Araucanians dauntless courage, fiery patriotism, and tireless endurance. He describes in heroic verses the adventures of Galvarino, narrated by Ercilla.⁶² He also introduces the other Indian heroes whom Ercilla has made familiar.

There is little effort to attribute to the Indians the gentler

⁶⁰ *Araucana*, XXVI, 25.

⁶¹ Osorio's *Araucana*, part 5, X, 47.

⁶² *Arauco domado*, XII, 16 to 44, and XVII, 29 to 52.

virtues. Idyllic love scenes between Lautaro and his bride in Ercilla, and between Tucapel and his beloved in Oña, cannot but seem incongruous. Especially is this true in the case of Tucapel, the most blood-thirsty of all the Indians. Another feature of the poems is the occasional appearance in distress of cultivated Indian maidens who call upon the gods of Greek and Roman mythology to assist them. The speeches of these maidens are of course absurd. Ercilla and others made use of poetic license to insert conventional fictions pleasing to their Renaissance readers in Spain.

Thus, with trifling exceptions, the qualities attributed to the Araucanians are virile. They often become ferocious. Ercilla was not so blind as to believe that the natives were merely honorable patriots. From personal experience he must have known that they were relentless enemies who would wage war without quarter. Indian cruelty is everywhere indicated. The following description of Lautaro's followers is an eloquent comment on their reputation:

"Los que Lautaro escoge son soldados
Amigos de inquietud, facinerosos,
En el duro trabajo ejercitados,
Perversos, disolutos, sediciosos,
A cualquiera maldad determinados,
De presas y ganancias codiciosos,
Homicidas, sangrientos, temerarios,
Ladrones, bandoleros y cosarios."⁶³

Examples could be repeated to show the savage ferocity of the Indians. They are also overweeningly proud. Absurdly enough Ercilla credits Caupolicán with the idea of invading Spain and attacking Christianity in its own home. Like Ariosto's Rodomonte and Tasso's Argante, Tucapel and Rengo are ready to fight on any occasion, against any odds, and against any foe, human or divine. There are occasional charges of treachery against the Indians, but they are not particularly emphatic.

In discussing cruelty the Spaniards are not hypocrites. They admit the performance by their own people of acts of

⁶³ *Araucana*, XI, 35.

fiendish cruelty. In Chile, as elsewhere in America, the approved policy is one of conciliation; but if, as in Araucania, that policy is unsuccessful, circumstances lead from one act of savagery to another, until the evil passions of men seem unrestrained. Any impartial reader would probably conclude from reading the *Araucana* that for his time Ercilla was a humane man, and that his protests against cruelty are genuine. He was able to understand and denounce the faults of his fellow countrymen, just as he could observe and appreciate their virtues. An ardent Catholic, a seeker of adventures, an admirer of Philip II, a humane man, a sympathizer with his enemies, he was well qualified to write about the desperate struggles in which he took part. Of course he realized the superiority in civilization of the white man, and gloried in the achievements of his people, but this could not blind him to the arguments favoring the other side.

In many battles the Indians are represented as possessing enormously superior forces. Man to man, they are not considered equal to the Spaniards, partly because Spanish arms and armor are superior. In general Ercilla avoids the description of single combats between Spanish leaders and the most famous Araucanian warriors. Perhaps he wished to give the impression that the Spaniards were superior, but hesitated actually to describe the definite downfall of a renowned native fighter. The duel between Andrea and Rengo, as well as the duel between the two Indians, Tucapel and Rengo, ends without definite results, although in both cases Rengo is slightly the less fortunate warrior. Likewise Osorio and Oña avoid occasions on which the leading Araucanian heroes would be decisively worsted. It is only at the end of Osorio's *Araucana* that we read about an overwhelming Araucanian defeat in which the most famous warriors are overthrown. This battle, as well as others in Osorio's poem, seems to have little, if any, historical basis.

Pedro de Oña tried to make a hero out of Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, but he succeeded only partially. In other parts of the new world, individual Spanish heroes are more fortunate. In the anonymous *Conquista de la Nueva Castilla*

the Indians are shadowy figures. They are occasionally described as treacherous. The whole poem is a eulogy of Pizarro, who is described as an active and able man equal to any emergency. Instances of his cruelty are given; his capture of the Inca, and the subsequent death of the unfortunate Atahualpa are set forth without much comment. The conventional charge of irreligion against the Inca is made. Osorio had a better appreciation of the justice of Atahualpa's cause. He writes for the unfortunate monarch the following remarks addressed to Pizarro:

"Si es envidia la tuya, si es codicia,
Refrena la pasión, y el apetito,
Quitar la hacienda al dueño, no es justicia,
Ni hay tal en el derecho, ni está escrito." ⁶⁴

Columbus and Cortés received eulogies similar to those showered upon Pizarro. The discovery of America seemed an event of transcendent importance, second only to the appearance of Christ on earth.⁶⁵ The poets attributed to Columbus and to Cortés the desire to arrange matters peacefully. It was assumed that the Indians would be improved by Spanish rule and by Christianity. The Spanish soldiers were incited to deeds of bravery by various arguments. Fame, wealth, and the glory of the church were held before them as inducements. On several occasions Castellanos attributes to Columbus special instructions issued to his followers to insure fair treatment for the Indians. Of course a cultivated Spaniard could not fail to notice unpleasant elements in the primitive Indian life. Some of Columbus's own companions refer to these unpleasant matters, whereupon Columbus warmly defends the natives. He says that their shortcomings are due only to lack of opportunity, and that European nations cannot pride themselves on having reached a very advanced state of civilization:

"¿Cuántos pueblos hay entre Cristianos
Por Italia, por Francia, por España,
Do no halléis lectores ni escribanos
Ni pueden a las letras darse maña?

⁶⁴ Osorio's *Araucana*, part 5, XIV, 27.

⁶⁵ Castellanos, *Elegías*, I, 1, canto 2, stanza 34.

Ved vuestros más vecinos y cercanos,
Ved la rusticidad de la montaña:
¡Qué sería, si hoy están tan botos,
Por siglos de memoria tan remotos!" ⁶⁶

Lasso de la Vega and Saavedra Guzmán, in describing the expedition of Cortés, felt that they were narrating one of the great achievements of the Spanish race, which was fulfilling its destiny in a distant part of the world. In Mexico more than in any other part of the New World we notice in the poets the ideas of imperial and religious expansion. With rare exceptions (e.g., the Cacique of Tabasco in Lasso de la Vega and Guatemozin in Saavedra Guzmán), the individual Indians are of slight importance. There is an effort to arouse horror over barbarous customs such as heathenism, human sacrifices, and cannibalism.

In order to emphasize the significance of the conquest of Mexico, Lasso de la Vega and Saavedra Guzmán introduce mythology. They represent the city of Mexico as the last stronghold on earth of Pluto and other infernal spirits and pagan deities against the advance of Christianity.

Lasso de la Vega does not attempt to deny to the Indians the possession of courage. His description of the chief of Tabasco is full of tributes to the heroism of the enemies' leader, who addresses his troops in the following stirring words:

"De nuestra parte la razón tenemos,
Que es la mayor de conseguir victoria,
Ley, libertad, y hacienda defendemos,
Ocasión de adquirir perpetua gloria." ⁶⁷

Appended to Lasso de la Vega's poem is an interesting defense of the Indians by Gerónimo Ramírez, the secretary of Cortés's grandson. It was written in answer to the accusation that Cortés won an empty victory because he fought against an untrained and superstitious enemy. Ramírez admits that the Indians were panic-stricken at their first sight of horses and when they first encountered artillery. However they soon became accustomed to Spanish ways of fighting, and despite their disadvantages proved to be redoubtable opponents. Not con-

⁶⁶ *Elegías*, I, 1, VI, 28.

⁶⁷ *Mexicana*, VI, 58.

fining himself to warlike qualities Ramírez paid the following tribute to the intellectual powers of the natives of Mexico:

“Échase de ver lo que los Indios de Cortés aprovecharan en las letras, si las aprendieran, y en las demás artes liberales, por lo que ahora se señalan en ellas sus descendientes, y en las demás cosas de Cristiandad, porque en nada son menores que los Españoles que allá habitan, ni en ejercer las artes mecánicas, ni en aprender letras, ni en policía y crianza.”

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REVIEWS

Les Grands Ecrivains du XVIe Siècle—Rabelais et Marot, par Pierre Villey. Bibliothèque littéraire de la Renaissance: Nouvelle Série, Tome XI, Paris, Champion, 1923.

A reader interested in the French Renaissance will open a book by M. Villey with respect. From the time when, a young follower of Abel Lefranc, he first engaged in the fascinating task of elucidating the literary history of the French Renaissance, his work has been marked no less by coherence of plan than by a thoroughness and persistence to which the author's blindness gave a heroic cast. The volume under discussion offers no exception to the rule.

The introduction provides—as introductions do not always—the clue to the proposed treatment of the author's subject. The men of the Renaissance, possessed of an unmatched freedom of expression, unhampered by the uniformity of social life and education, by established *genres* or by the tyranny of a reading public, and exposed on every hand to new and stimulating ideas, were, more than those of any other time, subject to constant change in their ideas and in their points of view. The sixteenth century, however, so fertile in these ideas, was—so M. Villey thinks—a harbinger of light rather than a lightbringer. It prepared the world for the scientific spirit but was itself without it. It did not, for instance, until its very end, catch the implications of the great discoveries of Copernicus and of the great explorers. Excited by the revelations of antique life and thought, it merely substituted one authority for another. “En somme, le XVIe siècle n'apporte pas une vision nouvelle de l'univers, de l'homme, et de la nature; il retrouve seulement dans les livres des visions qu'en ont eues les anciens, et qui s'imposent à lui par le prestige de l'antiquité. Une autorité se substitue à l'autorité traditionnelle . . . mais c'est encore une autorité.”

However this sweeping generalisation may startle, there can be no disagreement with the other postulate of the introduction—that chronological, not static, study of an author's production sets him always in a fresh light and reveals his response to the varying stimuli of his time—so manifold in the sixteenth century. Perhaps, however, the reader may be inclined to quarrel with the implication of the entire originality of such a method.

Two authors are treated in the work—Marot and Rabelais; and it may be said at once that the chapters dealing with Marot are by far the best in the book. A biography and criticism of this charming poet was needed. The contribution of Guiffrey, so invaluable and so stimulating in its day, and indeed, up to the present, our main authority for the life of Marot and for his place on the poetic Parnassus, is incomplete. In Guiffrey's lifetime only the second volume of his work, *Les Œuvres de Clément Marot*, appeared, and what has been edited of the posthumous part of Guiffrey's work leaves much to be desired. M. Villey has quite admirably filled the gap. The biography makes quite clear what was already known, or what skilful erudition can establish, of Marot's life—his happy childhood and somewhat boisterous youth, his establishment at twenty-one as secretary to Marguerite d'Angoulême, his early trifling with the “new” religious ideas, his imprisonment for breaking the Lenten fast, and the exquisite and witty appeals in verse which were

followed by his release by the King's grace, his love for Isabeau and for Anne—whose identity as a niece of Marguerite was first revealed by Abel Lefranc, and who was a love inaccessible in the nature of things. M. Villey establishes the dates of the verses which reveal these loves, and notes Marot's succession to his father's office in the service of Francis I, his journeys with the Court, retailed in verse both loyal and witty, and his constant efforts to establish and re-establish his position and his fortunes by poetic importunities, bold, exquisite shafts feathered with wit. Marot's official verses are given their proper chronology, as are also the robbery by his valet and the severe illness which followed, the immediate cause of his most famous poem, the *Eptre au Roi pour avoir été dérobé*. His growing fame is traced and his growing importance at court, and due weight is given to his first collection of poems, *L'Adolescence Clémentine* of 1532.

M. Villey deals very skilfully with Marot's gradual identification with the new religious ideas. At first he was "un partisan, nullement un apôtre," driven towards the evangelistic doctrines by "douleur, colère, pitié, ambiance," under the aegis of Marguerite of Navarre and even of Francis I. Marot's attitude in this respect led him, after the affair of the Placards in 1534, to escape from France to the polite court of Renée of France in Ferrara, from which court in turn he was obliged to flee to Venice, owing to the enmity of Renée's husband the Duke. His quarrels with Sagon, his recall in 1536, his flattering reception at Lyons, the formal abjuration which he found so bitter, and his triumphant re-establishment at Court are treated by M. Villey in an interesting manner, as are also his new travels in the train of Marguerite of Navarre and of the King. Marot, who was careful to expurgate from the official edition of his works poems offensive to authority, received from Francis I the gift of a house.

M. Villey shows that Marot was even—half ignorant as he was—accepted into the notable group of humanists with Dolet at their head, formed by Budé, Danès, Bérauld, Toussain, Macrin, Bourbon and Rabelais. Endowed with semi-learned repute, he set about his translation of the *Psalms* in 1537. Although these were not published until 1541, he had, by 1539, completed thirty and offered them to the King. Just at the moment, 1541, when he did publish, Dolet brought out his *L'Enfer*, and at that juncture persecution was revived. Marot, partly because he felt himself compromised by the fact that his *Psalms*, enthusiastically received at Court, were with no less enthusiasm adopted by heretics, went away afraid—perhaps first to Savoy, certainly to Geneva, where Calvin eagerly demanded more *Psalms*. Marot, however, never sympathetic with the Geneva atmosphere, felt that it was for the King that he was making his translations. As a fact, he left Geneva, rather than be summoned for playing tric-trac. His exile took him once more to Savoy, and also to Piedmont, where the French Army was at that time engaged and where he must have found many friends; and there, in September, 1544, he died.

The development of Marot's powers and of his markedly individual style is as skilfully traced by M. Villey as is his biography. It had its roots in his childish education, such as it was, which resulted in a "divine ignorance peut-être nécessaire à son originalité." A style in itself popular, and depending directly upon experiences—always a great element of Marot's genius—its individuality was clear even in early poems written during his idle apprenticeship as a youthful page. Marot's early and very bad translation of the first Eclogue of Virgil and his translation of a translation of Lucian's *Judgement of Minos*, which, with small regard for exactness, he prepared as an offering for Francis I, showed interests of a different kind, as on the other hand his adherence to the *Grands Rhétoriciens* was evident in another

offering to the new king—the *Temple de Cupido*. M. Villey traces the provenience of this poem, directly inspired by the *Roman de la Rose* and by Jean Lemaire des Belges. Although, even for a general reader, editions of Marot are by no means abstruse, he is at pains to describe with some fullness the contents of the poem. M. Villey notes also the influence of Marot's father upon his work of this period, and, among the *Rhétoriciens*, of the Grébans, Coquillart, Molinet, Chastellain, and Alain Chartier. He points out how closely, at this point of his development, Marot keeps to the *genres* made famous by these poets—*Rondeaux*, *Ballades*, and the difficult *Chans Royaux*.

However, if following the *Rhétoriciens* got Marot to the King's Court, it was that very Court—perhaps because it was the one Court in Europe where women were most considered—which emancipated him from their style and led him to form a new one with short poems dealing in clear and plain French words with things courtiers and ladies could understand—love chief among these. A great singularity in a disciple of the *Rhétoriciens* is the personal topics—"les menues aventures de sa vie et les sentiments que leur choc fera naître en lui"—of which Marot makes use as subjects of these short poems. The habit of doing this gave a very individual touch to his style. A famous example is the *Eptre à Lion Jamet* where "du premier coup il a donné un chef-d'œuvre," and the manner reached its height in the famous *Eptre au Roi pour avoir été dérobé* (1532). These brief poems took the form of *Élégies*, familiar *Eptres*, or short *Billets* later named *Epigrammes*. Whatever his individuality, Marot never completely shook off the old traditions, even though the influence of Mellin de Saint-Gelais and, indirectly, through him of Italy (for Marot did not go to Italy in 1524 as usually supposed but only in 1536) altered his style and led to some early coquetting with Latin poets, classic and modern, which later, as a result of contact with modern Latin poets at Court, developed, contrary to common opinion, into a considerable knowledge of the Latin classics.

Taking the *Temple de Cupido* as a starting point, M. Villey traces the gradual sloughing off of the old *genres* through the *Chans Royaux*, which fell into disuse with Marot about 1530, the *Ballades* of which, with the exception of four so-called *Chants*, the latest was written in 1532, and the *Rondeaux*, of which he wrote one, but one only, as late as 1540, until, in the collection of pieces written between 1533 and 1538, and offered to Montmorency in 1538, there are, among the 140 pieces, no *Chans Royaux*, no *Ballades*, and but one *Rondeau*. *Eptres*, *Élégies* and above all *Epigrammes* are in the great majority. The renewal and development of these forms by Marot is adequately discussed. The traditional form and material of the *Eptre* was transformed by the poet into a personal poem, couched in ordinary words and popular locutions, simple, ingenuous, discreet, marked by wit and restrained feeling, yet full of extraordinary life, especially when begging for favors forms its main theme. The *Eptre*, which increased markedly in the poet's work from 1524 to 1534, developed in the end into a "causerie légère à la manière des gens du monde," a typical manifestation of French genius—M. Villey thinks Birch-Hirschfeld mistaken in considering it an imitation of Horace—appropriated later by such pure Gallic geniuses as La Fontaine, Voltaire and Musset. The *Élégie*, coaxing, gently melancholic, rather slight in subject and essentially of the Court, excelling in the badinage of light and graceful love, is touched, as Marot develops the *genre*, with preciousness which M. Villey feels to be derived almost exclusively from the tradition of chivalry. The *Rondeau* became in Marot's hands a form of great delicacy and careful technique, abandoned, however, after 1527 because of the poet's increasing preference for classic forms and because its artificiality restricted the subject matter and suited ill

with his desire to release the art of poetry from difficulty and fit the form to the matter. The *Epigramme*, a slight form of extreme simplicity pointed by surprise, was thus arrived at and carried to an almost classic perfection, nearly always cast in the form of the *dixain* or *octave*.

M. Villey, unlike other critics, even while admitting possible Italian influence in the sentiment and ideas, if not in the form of the *Epigramme*, sees no relation between the increasing number of Marot's octaves (1527-1532) and the Italian vogue of *Strambotti*, as he saw nothing Italian in the preciousness of Marot's *Elégies*. Why M. Villey should make such assertions about the development of these forms at a time when the infiltration of Italian modes was certainly beginning is not quite clear; and he offers no evidence beyond an opinion. On the other hand, the inspiration of the Latin poets is admittedly clear in the *Epigrammes*, and M. Villey makes the admirable point that Marot found himself in competition with the modern Latin poets, offering to the King a similar homage and treating similar subjects. Students of the sixteenth century may well be grateful to him also for his remarks, in another connection, on the influence of modern Latin poets on the literature of the sixteenth century. It has been too little observed. After Marot's Italian journey (1537-1538), the classic influence naturally increased, to the greater perfection of the *Epigramme*. It was then that Marot, for the first time, gave that name to these little pieces. The *Eglogue* was less of an innovation than the *Epigramme*. Lemaire and Crétin, for example, had made use of this form. Marot's contribution was a close imitation of Virgil, and it was thanks to him that *Eglogues* on the classic model had their vogue in France; but his real innovation lay in combining in the *Eglogue* classic and mediaeval tradition, as, for example, in the familiar *Pan et Robin*. The modern personal touch he imports into his translations and imitations is in strong contrast with the deliberate classicism and exoticism of the *Pléiade*. On the other hand, holding closely as he does to national tradition in subject and, to a great extent, in form, he differs from his predecessors in directing his efforts, not to the conquest of the difficulties of versification, but to the achievement of a correct tone, of elegance, clarity and precision. To this end he corrected much and carefully.

M. Villey makes convincingly clear Marot's place between the Schools that preceded and that followed him, as shown by his use of the *genres* discussed. Before Sébilet, no theorist of poetics mentions *Eptires*, *Elégies* or what became the *Epigramme* (with one insignificant exception for the *Eptire*); Sébilet, when he mentions these three *genres*, always names Marot who naturalised them as it were; du Bellay, on the other hand, has no word of praise for any except one single piece of Marot's—*L'Eglogue sur la naissance du fils du Monsieur le Dauphin*—which is not in Marot's usual manner.

M. Villey notes the increasing refinement of Marot's Muse under Italian influence, after his flight to Ferrara in 1534, where the Strambottist Sassoferrato gave him the idea of his famous *Blason*, *Du beau Tétin*. *Blasons* were not new to the French poets, but *Blasons* of the female body were so; and Marot it was who gave them a vogue which ended in a regular joust of poetry with the Court of Ferrara as tribunal. Marot's revival of the *Cog à l'Ane* created almost as eager a fashion. A greater, yet unrealised, innovation was the *Sonnet*, of which Marot, thinks M. Villey, and not Saint-Gelais, wrote the first, but neither Marot nor his public gave it much importance,—“il n'en soupçonna pas la valeur esthétique.” They regarded it merely as a kind of *Epigramme*. In any case the difficulties of its structure had no attractions for a poet who had emancipated himself from the difficult forms of the *Rhétoriciens*.

M. Villey dwells upon the development of Marot's power of religious expression and of invective, brought about by his sufferings for a religion to which he was naturally indifferent. He rose, in one instance at least, to real heights of religious feeling. His *Eptire à François I* and *Eptire à Marguerite*, complaining of the exile which was his martyrdom, are servile imitations of Ovid, which, in their wholesale absorption of the original, anticipate the theories of the Pléiade. But the characteristic contrast between the attitude of Marot in his generation and that of the Pléiade is that the preoccupation of the former with the Classics never caused him to scorn national models, as the Pléiade did.

The chief literary interest of Marot's last years lay in his effort to give to France a lyric poetry which could be sung to music. Partly owing to the favor of the musicians at Court, popularity rewarded Marot's *Chansons* and *Cantiques*, composed in the more stereotyped forms. With his translation of the *Psalms*, he plunged into a new form, simpler than those older ones he had discarded, but of astounding structural variety, and inaugurated a vogue of *quatrains* and *sizains* which became characteristic of French lyric poetry.

"Ainsi après avoir abandonné jadis les rimes équivoquées, couronnées, battelées, les rimes répétées au début du vers suivant (voir chansons I et III), Marot maintenant en venait à donner au quatrain et au sizain cette place absolument prépondérante qu'ils auront dans notre lyrisme classique; au lieu de moins de 20 % dans les chansons, 78 % dans les psaumes, même 82 % en y joignant les dizains de forme classique qui sont constitués de l'adjonction d'un quatrain et d'un sizain."

In the fifty *Psalms* there are forty-one different rhythmic arrangements. However striking this play of strophic combinations, Marot "ne l'a nullement inventé; il l'a seulement retrouvé." It was the result of adapting verse to already existing tunes.

M. Villey has an interesting chapter on the influence of Marot as a man both of the national tradition and of the Renaissance, a poet whose first care is for artistic perfection. His simple art springs from a very cultivated taste, which lent itself to the foreign influence of the Renaissance sufficiently to revivify the national vein. "Entre deux poussées de pédantisme,—le pédantisme scolastique des rhétoriciens et le pédantisme antiquisant de la Pléiade—c'est la fine fleur française qui s'épanouit dans son œuvre." The posthumous influence of Marot was great, despite the mixture in the poet of mysticism and loose manners which led both Protestants and Catholics to sully his memory; and M. Villey traces it through the sixteenth century when "tout l'éclat de la Renaissance n'a pas suffi à éclipser sa réputation," through the Classic period when he alone of his century remained uneclipsed, through the eighteenth century when Marot was the first of his contemporaries to be reprinted, and when the artificial "Marotic" style, which was not his, borrowed its elements from him. In the nineteenth century, the Romantic movement obscured Marot in the shadow of Ronsard; and later reactions in his favor have—so M. Villey opines—lacked judgment. Marot's real place, according to this critic, is that of "une première esquisse de La Fontaine, de Voltaire et du Musset des contes badins."

The chapters on Marot are much strengthened by the chronological tables of his individual poems and of his life, included in the Appendix.

The second part of the book, concerned with Rabelais, constitutes less of a contribution to the history of French literature than the first. True, it deals with the biography of Rabelais and the bibliography of his works in the orderly and progressive manner which is the author's own. It presents the facts and expresses well-digested opinions upon the controversial topics which present themselves in such numbers in the writings of the man of whom M. Villey says justly enough:

"Il attire ou il repousse,—presque toujours avec violence," whose work, "par son étrangeté, a dérouté la critique et donne lieu aux interprétations les plus variées." But the material of M. Villey is not new. He arranges it; he has not discovered it.

The biographical material has been carefully elucidated during the course of this century by Abel Lefranc and his pupils, of whom M. Villey is indeed reputed one; and the *Etude sur le Gargantua*, which forms the preface to what M. Villey rightly calls "the magnificent edition of M. Abel Lefranc and his collaborators," has already in fact provided the reading public with a brilliant and well-documented biography and criticism. The name of Abel Lefranc is as much connected with Rabelais as is that of Gaston Paris with French literature of the Middle Ages. M. Villey makes free use of his master's brilliant discoveries and writings, but makes—beyond the reference noted and one other citation—practically no acknowledgment, perhaps because he feels it needless to remark on a debt so easily recognised that it may be taken for granted, or feels that the work of an acknowledged master soon becomes too literally "la chair, les os, les nerfs et le sang" of his contemporaries, to need acknowledgment. Still, such reticence as M. Villey's is excessive when whole pages derive from the work of others and no word is said. The discussion on the meaning of the name of Pantagruel (p. 170), the pages on the question of the marriage of Pantagruel and its relation to the well-known debate on the worth or unworth of women (p. 248), those on the navigations of Pantagruel (p. 284), and on the background of reality behind the incidents of the *Gargantua* (pp. 205 and 207), are, to take but a few examples, simply a restatement of the results, researches and opinions of Abel Lefranc. When M. Villey does mention the outstanding master of his own subject, it is to disagree with him; and the frequency of this disagreement tends in itself to shed an unpleasant light upon the omission of proper acknowledgment. In one notable instance—a discussion of Rabelais's true philosophy (p. 189)—M. Villey seems not even to have read the article with which he feels himself in disagreement. In another, where he debates the question of the authenticity of the Fifth Book, he states the grounds on which he disagrees as if these had been established by M. Boulenger, followed by Mr. Tilley and Mr. Smith. The name of Abel Lefranc occurs only as of necessity, in a note as co-author of *L'Île Sonnante*. Now the rescue of the Fifth Book from the limbo of completely spurious works was a notorious *tour de force* in the world of erudition concerned with the Renaissance. Abel Lefranc was the innovator who converted to his theories previous doubters like Gaston Paris and previous opponents like Plattard and Huguet.

The reader, coming upon these evidences of unacknowledged sources, becomes doubtful of the value of the whole work. Yet value is there. The work is extremely painstaking, clear and well arranged, and a reader on his guard as to its sources will prize it for its picture of Rabelais, his work and his times, and for its judicious criticism. The biography and criticism are skilfully interwoven and skilfully presented. The biographical thread, although none of the material and ideas gathered by Abel Lefranc and the other *Rabelaisants* of the *Revue du Seizième Siècle* has been neglected, must in the nature of things be a tenuous one, but it is steadily developed. Thirteen chapter headings indicate the union of biography and criticism—beginning with *Rabelais avant le Pantagruel* and ending with *Le Cinquième Liore* and *L'Art de conter*. The fourteenth chapter concludes the whole matter by a satisfactory account of the destiny of the books from their own time to the present in the various European centres of intellectual culture. A *Chronologie de Rabelais* forms a useful appendage.

If the book borrows much from the results of recent erudition, it contains suffi-

cient acute observation to establish the author's own original powers and shrewd critical faculty, as in the description of the scientific group of the Renaissance—so small and so alloyed with folly: "la folie d'un Paracelse y coudoie le génie de Paré et elle ne se recrute guère que parmi les ignorants, tant la science, comme par une fatalité, entraîne alors la superstition de l'antiquité" (p. 162)—or in the reference to the ruthless contempt of the immediate past felt by the amateurs of ancient literature.

"Un sentiment est commun à tous ces hommes chez qui la lecture des anciens a déguisé la vue critique, c'est le mépris de l'époque qui les a précédés et de toutes les survenances par lesquelles elle se prolonge parmi eux. Ils prétendent secouer le legs d'ignorance qu'ils ont hérité de ces temps de barbare, en pourchasser la trace dans toutes les formes de l'activité et de la connaissance, et, remontant par-delà tout le Moyen-Age, retrouver chez les anciens la source pure de leurs institutions et du savoir humain."

The book contains, it must be said, evidences of surprising carelessness in proof-reading. There should be no place in a work of careful criticism for the repetition of a line, as on page 295, or for such a sentence as the following: "S'il ne rencontre que par accident la haute inspiration religieuse, et si sa satire sable, mais encore sans doute le souci de la cour, et la pensée que des Sagon sont toujours prêts à profiter de ses imprudences pour lui en fermer à jamais la porte" (p. 97). But in spite of occasional carelessness, in spite of the marked inferiority of the second to the first half of the book, the chapters of Marot alone fit it to be an important item in any library rich in sixteenth century material.

CAROLINE RUTZ-REES

ROSEMARY HALL,
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Atlas linguistique de Catalunya. Per A. Grier. Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1923, vol. I,¹ *Abans d'ahir-avui*; 1924, vol. II, *la barbarota-el cantó*; vol. III, *cansat-les crosses*.

The linguistic atlas of France (*Atlas linguistique de la France*) which Jules Gilliéron and E. Edmont began publishing in 1902 undoubtedly gave a powerful impulse to the vivification of Romance and especially to French linguistic studies. The investigations of M. Gilliéron and his pupils resulting from the speech-charts of the *Atlas linguistique* gave a new interest to problems which had appeared solved. From new standpoints they took up once more questions of principles and opened to linguistic science ways up to then untrodden.²

But whoever makes use of the linguistic atlas covering France as well as the French speech area belonging to either Belgium or Switzerland knows how often and how deeply he must feel the lack of equally thorough atlases for the countries surrounding France. The publication of a linguistic atlas of Italy and Spain would be invaluable for the recognition and solution of all such linguistic problems as, stretching beyond the French speech territory, touch both Italy and Spain. With regard to the linguistic atlas illustrative of the Raetian and Italian dialects of Switzerland as well as a great part of Upper Italy, the reader may find a broad outline in an article by K.

¹ Each volume comprises 187 charts and is sold at 70 pesetas.

² For a concise, admirable and thoughtful exposé of the results of Jules Gilliéron's method see Jaberg, *Romania* XLVI, 121-135; for a wider public, an outline of the methods of linguistic geography and their results was given in Albert Dauzat, *La Géographie linguistique*, Paris, 1921.

Jaberg and J. Jud in the *ROMANTIC REVIEW*, 1923, 249-264. As for the Iberic peninsula we are today in possession of a first fascicule of the Catalan linguistic atlas which is being published by the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans*. This publication is the outstanding work of one explorer, a member of the *Institut* who for ten years has been devoting himself wholly to this task: Antoni Griera.

The editor's name is well known to linguists: A. Griera is the director of the *Bulletí de dialectologia catalana*,³ the most important publication for Catalan linguistics, and the number of collaborators and friends of which he has never failed to increase. He is the founder and director of a boldly conceived dictionary of the Catalan dialects which will soon be ready for publication; and finally, following the example of the *Atlas linguistique de la France* he began work on a linguistic atlas for the Catalan speech domain of which three fascicules are already published (the end of August 1924).

Griera travelled on foot through the whole of the Catalan speech area; and availing himself of a *questionnaire* of about 3,000 questions, recorded phonetically the dialectic correspondences for a number of ideas in certain localities. So, for instance, in 105 places of the Catalan speech domain he put the following questions before the dialect speakers: How do you express in your dialect the following Catalan phrases: *el foc s'apaga* (the fire goes out); *apagar el foc* (to extinguish the fire); *afiar el foc* (to poke the fire); *el tió, els tions* (blazes); *el tió de Nadal* (bûche de Noël); *bufar el foc* (to blow up the fire). Thus for *s'apagar* (to extinguish the fire) he received the answers: *apagar, morir, acabar, amollar* with their phonetical variants.

The result of this enquiry is made accessible to science in the following manner: on a chart of Catalonia the places where Griera recorded a dialect in its completeness are numbered (e.g., Girona is no. 36, Barcelona is no. 68). Each chart contains all the answers of the "sujets" to one question: thus for *el foc s'apaga* the chart shows the answers Griera received and noted down: no. 3 (Bosost) records for "the fire goes out" *s'âmôrîê*; no. 6 (Esterrí): *s'âpâgê*; no. 32 (Sant Hilari Sacalin) *epâge, es môr*; no. 82 (Gandia) *s'akêba, es pâgâ*. It is therefore possible to see at a glance which part of Catalonia uses *apagar* for "to extinguish the fire"; and which *akabar*; and thus we can see forthwith the number of synonyms for the idea "to extinguish the fire" scattered over the Catalan speech area.⁴ The linguistic atlas of Catalonia is a magnificent means for research work; and no library or seminary where the Ibero-Romance linguistics occupy the place due to them should be without it.

At first sight the three initial fascicules of the volume are very inspiring to the scientist; let it suffice to indicate here only a few of the problems which arise from the abundance of the material:

(1) *Relation of literary Catalan to the dialects*: e.g., chart *abans d'ahir*, "the day before yesterday." Literary Catalan has *abans d'ahir* for this expression; the chart in the atlas shows that there is only one place (no. 103) with *abans d'ahir*, the overwhelming majority of the places use: *despus d'ahir*, corresponding to a Latin formation *de post heri* (cf. O. Ital. *postieri*): so the Catalan opposes to *despuès demà*,

³ Issued by the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans*. First published in 1914 it has today reached the 11th vol.; for the contents of the first 3 vols., cf. *Romania*, XLIV, 289, and XLV, 568; for the contents of the first 6 vols., cf. W. Wartburg, *Archivum Romanicum*, VI, 262, or F. Krüger, *ZRPh.*, XLI, 711.

⁴ The territory investigated by Griera includes the whole of the Catalan speech area in Catalonia (provinces of Llérida, Girona, Barcelona, Tarragona, Balears) and Valencia (Alicante, Valencia, Castelló de la Plana) as well as Roussillon in France and Alghero in Sardinia. Besides this, Griera recorded also the Val d'Aran which is Gascon and some places on the boundaries of Aragon.

"the day after to-morrow" (< *de post demane*), a formation *de post heri*, and thus shows itself independent of Spanish *antes de ayer* and French *avant-hier*. But how is the literary *abans d'ahir* to be explained? As a translation of the Spanish *antes de ayer*? And will the literary *abans d'ahir* be victorious over the popular *despus d'ahir*, or will the popular *despus d'ahir*, used even in Barcelona, the capital, invade the domain of the literary *abans d'ahir*?¹

(2) *Phonetic division of Catalonia*: From A. Griera's monographs *El català oriental*, *El català occidental*, *El valencià*, *el rossellonès*, *el dialecte belearic* (*Contribució a una dialectologia catalana*, *Bulletí de dial. cat.* viii, ix) we know already the phonetic and morphological characteristics of the four main dialectal groups of Catalonia; but the atlas also enables us to follow each phenomenon in its minute details and ramifications on the chart, and thus to gain an extraordinarily plastic picture of the dialectal divisions of the country. One of the characteristic phonetic peculiarities contrasting East Catalan (centre Barcelona) to West Catalan (centre Lleyda, Llérida) is the coincidence of pretonic *a* and *e* in *ə* (a sound resembling the *e* in French *me*): *Kəbaŋ* < *caballu*; *ənd*: *anar*, "to go away"; *trəbəd* < *tripaliare*, "to work"; *jəldə*, "gelée." The Western Catalan, on the other hand, makes a distinction between the two pretonic vowels *a* and *e*: *serbəl*: *cerebellu* against *madera*, "biga" < *materia*. If we happen to compare the charts *ahir* "yesterday" and *agost* "August" (with pretonic *a*), we shall not fail to notice that the reduction of *a* > *ə* is wavering in the boundary zone between the Western and the Eastern Catalan territories; No. 9 (Andorra) reduces pretonic *a* to *ə* in Catalan *agost*, *air* (yesterday), *agrait* (grateful), *abeurar* (to water), but keeps *a* in the pronunciation of *agulla*, *abeurador*, *abella*. On the other hand no. 8 (Seu d'Urgell) pronounces pretonic *a* as *ə* in *agost*, *air*, *agrait*, *abeurar*, but gives the pronunciation *a* in *abella*, *agulla*; no. 53, it seems, gives *əgost*, but in every other case *a*: e.g., *agulla*, *air*, *agrait*, *abeurar*, *abeurador*, *abella*. Thus there lies a more or less extensive transitory zone between the Eastern Catalan (centre Barcelona) and the Western Catalan (centre Llérida), where Eastern and Western Catalan manifestly meet and influence each other.

(3) *Phonetic Problems*. In the above-mentioned sketch of the dialects of Catalonia A. Griera points out that in Eastern Catalan the fall of pretonic *a* is characteristic: *bril* < *aprile*, *gost* < *augustu*. Anyone casting a glance at the chart of the Catalan atlas will realize a world of phenomena which proves to be more complicated; no. 6 (Esterrí) shows very often the fall of initial *a* in masculine nouns: *gost* < *augustu*, *genollar* < *agenouiller* (to kneel down), *faitar* < *afaitar* < *affactare*, *marga* instead of *amarga*, "bitter"; but why then *abraçar* and not *braçar*? Within the Eastern Catalan domain, where pretonic *a* and *e* coincide in *ə*, certain numbers (37, 54, 65, 67) present a much greater variety of examples showing the fall of initial *a* than others (e.g., nos. 26, 27, 29). Why this difference? Why is *ser*, 'acier' (steel) used in almost the whole of the Eastern Catalan territory, even where no examples of the fall of pretonic *a* can be found?

(4) *Expansion of the Catalan of Barcelona*: Eastern Catalan (centre Barcelona) uses for the first person plural the ending *-em*, and second person plural *-eu* (*cantem* < *cantamus*, *canteu* < *cantatis*) while in Western Catalan we have for the first person plural *-am*, second person plural *-au* (*cantam*, *cantau*): chart 391, *cantem* shows, however, that *cantam* still lingers, but in a very narrow belt (nos. 6, 5, 21, 55, 56, 58). Yet to the literary Catalan *cantem* offers determined opposition, e.g., (1) French

¹ The fact that Alghero in Sardinia (no. 105) says *abans d'ahir* proves little, for often the "sujet" in Alghero is more influenced by the literary Catalan than those of the Catalan continent. In fact, Alghero is more "purist" than is the capital, Barcelona.

Roussillon which lies outside the influence of Barcelona, and (2) the Balears which are conservative in linguistic matters and where only *kantam* is known. So we can actually follow the linguistic unification of Catalonia: there are only the peripheric domains of Roussillon and the Balears which present the last defences of provincial linguistic autonomy.

(5) *Lexical influence of Castilian and French.* In one part of the Catalan speech domain (Roussillon) French alone is recognized as the literary language; ⁶ while in the greater part of the Catalan-Valencian speech area the authorities recognize only Spanish as the literary language. In accordance with this fact foreign lexical elements are invading Catalan from North and West, the progress of which can very easily be traced on the atlas.⁷

Thus in chart 411 *capsa de carteró*, the French *botte* penetrated by two different routes: through Val d'Aran as *bwela*, through Roussillon as *bwala* in the later phonetic form. In chart 430 *carreter*, "cartwright," Roussillon as well as no. 1 in Val d'Aran show French *charron* against Catalan *carreter*, and the same area uses for Catalan *carreto* French *brouette*. French schools introduce the French *cahier* whereas in Catalan they say *cartipag*, which latter is probably the Spanish *cartapacio*.

Characteristic of the influence of literary French, Spanish as well as Italian on the boundary zones of Catalonia, is the chart *cinquagesima*, "Whitsuntide." During the Middle Ages the whole of the Iberic peninsula called the Christian feast of Whitsuntide *quingagesima*, *cinquagesima* (cf. *quinque* > *cinque*): Gallician *cincuesma*, Old Spanish *cincuaesma*, Old Catalan *cincogesma*. Today in Portugal as well as Spain *pentecostes* triumphs as the name for Whitsuntide, besides which there exists a popular expression *pasqua granada* (*granado*, "celebrated, great, famous"). The Northern Catalan dioceses cling obstinately to *sincogesma*, but already *cincogesma* has entirely disappeared from the Valencian, the South of Catalonia (dioceses Tarragona, Lleida, Tortosa), and it intrudes in places of Northern Catalonia. As the literary Catalan also adopted *pasqua granada* in place of the indigenous *cincogesma*, the complete disappearance of *cincogesma* is but a question of time. From the north the French (*Languedoc*) *pentecusta* is penetrating into Val d'Aran and Roussillon.⁸ At Alghero (Sardinia) *Pasqua de flors* ("Pâque fleurie") is alone heard, this being a copy of the Sardinian (*Logudoro*) *Pascha de flores*.

Thus from each chart of the Catalan speech atlas the investigator can read a

⁶ The thousands of Catalan labourers who work during the summer in the vineyards of Southern France also learn more or less French.

⁷ Nos. 3 and 4 (Val d'Aran), belonging linguistically to Gascony, but politically to Spain, are of course more subject to French influence owing to the proximity of Gascony (Bordeaux) than the Catalan territory on the southern side of the Pyrenees (e.g., *bidon*, "jar," chart 396, only in no. 3).

⁸ Obviously it is sometimes difficult to decide whether Roussillon borrowed from Languedoc or had been preserving a word which once might have belonged also to Old Catalan: on chart 396 (*cantir*, "jar") nos. 100, 103 (Pyrénées-Orientales) say *durke* for a jar which might be borrowed from Languedoc *dourco* or continue the Old Catalan *dorca* (cf. Anglò *dorca*).

⁹ I wish to lay before the author some desiderata:

- (1) Table of concordances of the headings of the French charts and those of the Catalan charts.
- (2) Exact definitions of the Catalan words, which he had in mind while questioning the "sujet." For instance, did the "sujets" understand the meaning of Catalan *canyet*, "place where bodies of horses are thrown," or did they not rather take it in the general meaning of the French *voirie*, "place where the refuse or garbage is thrown"?
- (3) A note on the cases where the "sujets" misunderstood the explorer's question more than once.

chapter of Catalonia's and Valencia's linguistic history as well as of the history of the civilization and ecclesiastical organization of each country. Indeed, there is sufficient reason to give warm thanks to the untiring and courageous scholar who did not shrink from undertaking such a gigantic enterprise. It is the duty of the learned world, both libraries and scholars, to assure the future of this work.⁹

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Salas Barbadillo, *La Peregrinación sabia y el Sagas Estacio, Marido examinado*.

Prólogo de Francisco A. Icaza (Clásicos Castellanos, t. 57), Ediciones de "La Lectura," Madrid, 1924, pp. xlviii + 303.

The apparent laudable aim of this excellent series is to accurately reproduce, in attractive and readable form, the works of Spanish classic authors, the task of selecting and editing texts being intrusted to the most competent authorities on the literary field involved. It is obviously difficult to maintain a consistently high standard in such an undertaking but if in a few cases the choice of editors has left something to be desired in careful scholarship, the present volume is not to be classed among those exceptions. It is a valuable and worthy contribution to the collection. Sr. Icaza, already well known for his studies on Cervantes and other novelists of the Golden Age, is an original and conscientious critic who assumes the prologist's responsibility seriously. His avowed purpose is to avoid the too frequent tendency to bestow extravagant praise on the author whose works are presented. Rather he prefers to give an impartial discussion of Salas' literary characteristics with some acute remarks regarding his place as a writer in the period to which he belongs. There is included biographical and bibliographical data based on previous studies by others and supplemented by Sr. Icaza's own investigations.

The text includes two works that have become rare through lack of successive reprints. The *Peregrinación Sabia* is a fable in which beasts serve to satirize the customs and traits of mankind. Two foxes, father and son, make a journey of observation among animals, and in true picaresque fashion gather worldly knowledge at the expense of others. In style and theme the selection provides an interesting example of transition from Alemán to Quevedo.

The *Sagas Estacio*, as the subtitle indicates, is a trial of husbands. Its prose dialogue form is influenced by *La Celestina* which Salas admired and imitated, and the poetic interpolations give evidence of his inclination toward versification. The whole is in reality a novelistic sectional view of Madrid life in the early seventeenth century. Marcela, the mistress of many lovers, considering that a properly meek spouse would be a convenient asset to quiet meddlesome tongues, announces her intention of marrying, provided she finds a man with the necessary qualifications. Various suitors, eager for her dowry, present themselves but each is dismissed as unsatisfactory with appropriate satire on the trade or profession which he represents. Finally Estacio applies and, after several tests of his capacity for absorbing dishonor, is accepted, only to reveal that he has cleverly outwitted the intriguers for the purpose of reforming his newly acquired wife.

The phraseology as well as the vocabulary of Salas is colloquial and his style is near enough akin to *conceptismo* to offer some difficulties to the average reader. In view of this and certain allusions in the text, it is regrettable that Sr. Icaza has not given us the benefit of his erudition in textual footnotes. He deliberately limits himself to such general comments as may find a place in his prologue, thereby omitting the specific exposition which has given to previous annotated volumes of the *Clásicos* their chief usefulness. Sr. Icaza's knowledge of the subject in hand might have been

most aptly utilized to clarify many passages, and, with this feature embodied, his work would have gained a great deal in value. Nevertheless we are much indebted to him for adding to the available materials for the study of the Spanish classical novel through one of its most prolific developers.

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FRENCH LITERARY NEWS IN BRIEF

LATIN PRESS: The third convention of the Latin Press took place in Florence. Among the many questions discussed was that of the exchange of professors and students between Latin and Latin-American countries. It was requested that universities should be more liberal in granting equivalences of degrees to students transferring from one university to another.—**LE NAVIRE D'ARGENT:** This is a new review published in Paris, 7 rue de l'Odéon; it will concern itself with literature and questions of general culture. A useful bibliography of English literature translated into French from the origins to the close of the Renaissance was begun in the first issue, June 1.—**PIERRE LOUÿS** died in his fifty-fourth year. For about twenty years he had retired from the militant literary world, but his fame is established on the books he wrote in his youth: *Chansons de Bilitis*, *Aphrodite*, etc. . . . His influence was then very great. It is interesting to recall that he was the protector and literary guide of Claude Debussy. During the last ten years his health had been very poor. The funeral services took place at Passy in the Church of Notre-Dame de la Miséricorde. On the steps of the church the Minister of Public Instruction, M. de Monzie, paid public homage to the glory of the great artist.—**CAMILLE FLAMMARION**, the world-known astronomer and philosopher, died in his eighty-third year in his Juvisy laboratory. He was one of the first to study spiritism and telepathy scientifically and made himself an apostle of the spiritualistic doctrine. His contribution to the science of astronomy is an important one. In his enthusiasm for this science he wrote several astronomical books of a popular character.—**VERLAINE:** Thanks to the subscription of the *Mercure de France* under the auspices of the "Société des amis de Verlaine," a statue of the poet by James Vibert was inaugurated in Metz on the twenty-seventh of June.—**RHEIMS:** Admirers of the cathedral will read with interest in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of the first of June an article in which M. A. Hallays tells about the efforts that have been made during the last six years to restore this unique jewel of Gothic art.—**CHINESE STUDENTS IN FRANCE:** *La Chine et le monde* is the title of a book written by Chinese students and ex-students of the Ecole des Sciences politiques of Paris. In this book are stated the claims of China as a nation and an attempt is made to outline what the country owes to the other peoples of the world. This work is of special interest at this particular moment when Bolshevik propaganda is spreading widely in China. And, by the way, there is an interesting article on this topic by Maurice Lewandowski in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of the first of June.—**EUROPAISCHE REVUE:** Prince Charles de Rohan, director of this review, the foundation of which was announced in our last number, has very clearly formulated his views on the European situation: "The danger of the complete destruction of the white race is great; more important still is that of the destruction of the soul. . . . A reciprocal penetration of national consciousness is the only way to broaden and ripen the feeling that people have about themselves and make them masters of the new situation." The aim for which the review stands is expressed in the second part of the above quotation.

—INDEX BIBLIOGRAPHICUS: Under this title, the League of Nations has published an "International repertory of current sources of bibliography, periodicals and institutions" (Geneva, 1925).—THEATRE DU PEUPLE: This is the thirtieth anniversary of the foundation of this institution by M. Maurice Pottecher in Bussang. It is a very original undertaking: the plays are specially written for it, and as to the actors, they are specially trained for this kind of performances, and they never play in another theater. In August was given *Le miracle du sang, mystère en douze tableaux*, by M. Pottecher.—CHARCOT: The centenary of the famous scientist was celebrated at the Sorbonne and at the Académie de médecine.—BARBEY D'AUREVILLE: On Sunday, July twenty-eighth, M. Henry Bordeaux delivered an address at Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte on the occasion of the inauguration of a museum where many souvenirs relating to Barbey D'Aureville were gathered.—PRIZES: The poet Jean Trainsel was awarded the Catulle Mendès prize for a manuscript: *Le Saule*. Mr. Louis Charbonneau's book *Les Vainqueurs* won the Renaissance prize.—JEUNES FILLES FRANCAISES: M. Gonzagur Truc is directing a most useful enquiry on the aspirations of the modern French girl. A number of letters from girls of various social conditions have been published in the January, May and June numbers of the *Grande Revue*. This information may be made more complete by reading M. Boulenger's article on the attitude of the French girl towards dancing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of the first of May. In contrast with this article, see also André Beaunier's *Jeunes filles d'autrefois* in the first of July number of the same review.—LUCIE COUSTURIER, author of *Mon amie Fatou citadine* (Rieder), died, exhausted by her travels in Africa where she was an apostle of the French idea among the natives.—ALBERT SAMAIN: On the seventh of June, a monument was inaugurated at Magny-les-Hameaux where the author of the *Jardin de l'enfance* died. In Lille where the poet was born, the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death was commemorated by the special August issue of the local review the *Mercure de Flandre* entirely composed of articles written by friends of the poet and by men of letters who knew him.—LA COMTESSE DE NOAILLES has been elected an honorary member of the Rumanian Academy.—M. FERDINAND BRUNOT recently visited England and gave lectures at the Universities of London and Cambridge.—PRIX DU ROMAN: This prize was awarded by the French Academy to M. François Duhourcau for his novel *L'Enfant de la victoire*.—DIE LITERATURISCHE WELT is a new review founded in Berlin by Ernst Rowohlt; it will devote special attention to French literature.—GENERAL MANGIN: The French Academy has posthumously honored General Mangin by giving him the Grand Prix de Littérature. Gabriel Hanotaux published an exceedingly informative article on the General in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of the fifteenth of June.—PIERRE HAMP, author of the well-known series *La peine des hommes*, was made an officer of the Legion of Honor. Alphonse de Chateaubriant and Edmond Jaloux were made chevaliers for their literary merit.—HENRY FORD's book *Ma vie et mon oeuvre* (Payot) has created quite a sensation in France where few people knew the mystical background, so to speak, of the author's economic and social views.—ALPES FRANCAISES: Professor R. Blanchard, who was visiting professor at Columbia University two years ago, has just published a book on the French Alps which will be of great interest to the American tourists who never fail to visit this most beautiful section of France.—CAHIERS VERTS: The sixty-fifth and last number of this series will come out at the beginning of 1926. A second series will begin on the first of April, 1926.

FRENCH BOOK-NOTES

GASSIES DES BRULIES, *Anthologie du Théâtre Français du Moyen Age*. This is a charming collection of "Jeux" and "Farces" of the thirteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries arranged in modern French by a specialist of French medieval literature of whom Faguet said: "His poetry is alert, direct and is admirably fitted for the reconstruction of our old drama." The book is very different from the other anthologies of this nature, for besides the well-known farces such as *Pathelin* and the *Cuivier* it offers a collection of seldom mentioned farces: *Colin*, *Maître mimin*, *L'Obstination des femmes*, etc. . . .

J. GALTIER-BOISSIERE, *La Bonne Vie*. A book of intense realism, describing the cynicism and the perverse happiness of the underworld of Paris. No attempt has been made to adapt the facts to the susceptibility of the austere minded reader.

BOUZINAC-CAMBON, *Échec et Mat*. The story of a man tyrannised by a mistress and a "motherly" friend and who discovers in the end the treasures of love hidden in his wife's heart. The character of the motherly friend, so jealous in an affection that only admits the very kind of happiness she wishes for the one she loves, is a masterpiece.

EDOUARD MAYNIAL, *Vie de J. H. Fabre*. The third volume of a new collection of French biographies written by prominent authors such as René Bazin, H. Bordeaux, etc. . . . They are meant for young people to whom they will offer examples of heroes who sacrificed everything to the pursuit of an ideal. This book outlines the life and work of the famous entomologist who was at the same time a true poet of nature. In the same series have been published a *Victor Hugo* and a *Guyonmer, le chevalier de l'air*.

P. MARTIAL-LEKEUX, *Maggy*. Touching biography of a young French woman who, during the war, gave up her social life to teach poor children and do missionary work among the miners in the most sordid districts. A striking example of complete sacrifice. The book was written by the heroine's brother, author also of *Mes cloîtres dans la tempête*.

HESSE ET NASTORG, *Leur Manière*. This is a very successful adaptation of the well-known *A la manière de . . .* to the world of "avocats." Henri Poincaré, P. Boncour, A. Millerand, etc. . . . have been cleverly sketched by their "confrères." (The authors are lawyers themselves.)

CAMI, *Les Exploits Galants du Baron de Crac*. Somewhat "free," but very funny indeed. Undoubtedly the most amusing book of the famous humorist.

LEON DEUTSCH, *J'ai Acheté Cette Femme*. A young woman is loved by a man who, although he seems somewhat cynical, is at heart an idealist. Will he or will he not win her by dint of money? The interest of this novel lies in the characters that represent faithfully the psychology of to-day.

RAYMOND SCHWAB, *Mathias Crismant*. The complete biography of a poet whose refined sensitiveness and mental isolation prevented friendship and love from bringing him solace. The work is based on many quotations from the writings of Crismant. . . . And still, is not Crismant a creation of Schwab's imagination? (See *Revue Hebdomadaire*, 4, vii, p. 104.)

DANIEL MORNET, *Histoire Générale de la Littérature Française*. The material has been handled in an absolutely new way. The book is divided into two parts: the first one deals with general literature, and outlines the main currents of thought throughout the centuries and the general tendencies of important writers; in the second the most significant works are studied in detail in the light of modern erudition. It is an original text book and affords most interesting reading for the general public.

MAXIME PETIT, *Histoire Générale des Peuples*. The first volume is out: it outlines the development of civilization from beginnings to the end of the Middle Ages. 600 illustrations.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

- J. et J. Tharaud, *La Vie et la mort de Déroulède*.—Plon.
 Panait Istrati, *Présentation des Haidoucs*.—Rieder.
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 Dorothy Turville, *French Feminine Singular Nouns Derived from Latin Neuter Plurals*, N. Y., 1925, pp. 236.
Bibliography of the Writings of Thomas Frederick Crane, Professor Emeritus, Romance Languages, Cornell University, 1868-1924, pp. 42. A list of 331 titles covering a wide range of subjects and in which one can trace the history of Romance studies for more than a half century. This great pioneer in our field of research deserves our heartiest congratulations not only for this remarkable record of achievement but also for the interest he has aroused in others.

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